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Much is at stake
as lawmakers head
into veto session

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Peggy Boyer Long



Turow's new book on the death penalty makes timely reading for the veto session

by Peggy Boyer Long

Scott Turow suspects the death penalty will be abolished in this country, eventually. But the Chicago attorney and best-selling author concludes political consensus isn't likely to lead us to abolition.

"I expect Americans — and their politicians — to remain in conflict, provoked by individual cases and reluctant to focus on the actual output of the system as a whole," he writes in his recently released collection of essays on the subject. "Their hesitation to fix what is fixable in our capital schemes will force the ultimate judgments into the courts."

Ultimate Punishment: A Lawyer's Reflections on Dealing with the Death Penalty makes timely reading. It went to the printer after the General Assembly approved extensive reforms in Illinois' capital punishment system last May, and before Gov. Rod Blagojevich revised those reforms last summer. And this month, when lawmakers return for their fall session, that hesitation — and that conflict — in fixing what is fixable is expected to be visible again.

The governor said he agreed with all but one of the provisions in the measure designed to reduce chances Illinois will execute innocent

Ultimate Punishment: A Lawyer's Reflections on Dealing with the Death Penalty

by Scott Turow
Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 2003

people. He didn't agree on lowering the threshold for prosecuting police officers who willfully lie on the stand.

But if the legislature fails to approve or to reject the governor's changes, all of the proposed reforms will land in the dustbin. So as they rejoin the debate, lawmakers, who took a pass on abolition six months ago, might want to reflect on the law of unintended consequences. They might want to read Turow.

"The incremental approach the U.S. Supreme Court has favored for the last twenty-five years, creating strict procedural hurdles to death sentences and declaring the death penalty unconstitutional in more and more settings — when applied to the mentally retarded; when decided, after a verdict, by a judge — will eventually stretch the fabric of the law to the point that it is too much of

a patchwork to be regarded as a work of reason," he writes. "Eventually, I expect the Court to conclude that capital punishment and the promise of due process of the law are incompatible."

Turow didn't come easily to this position. Over the course of his career, he admits, he has been conflicted about capital punishment, beginning as a youthful opponent, becoming a legal proponent, then an anguished "agnostic" and, at the last, a considered abolitionist.

His essays review the progress of Illinois' most recent high-profile struggle over this issue, and recount a personal journey. An accomplished novelist, Turow has no need to tell this tale in the third person; he was at the center of much of the political narrative as it unfolded.

Turow represented on appeal Alejandro Hernandez, who, along with Rolando Cruz, was wrongly convicted for the 1983 murder of 10-year-old Jeanine Nicarico. It was during his connection with this case, which he took *pro bono*, that Turow began to see how far wrong capital cases can go. "There was no physical evidence against either of them — no blood, semen, fingerprints, hair, fiber, or other forensic proof. The state's

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case consisted solely of each man's statements, a contradictory maze of mutual accusations and demonstrable falsehoods as testified to by various informants and police officers." Yet, despite evidence these men weren't guilty, officials in DuPage County continued to prosecute them. Hernandez and Cruz weren't freed until 1995.

They were, as Turow notes, among 17 men who were legally absolved of the murders for which they were sentenced to death. By way of comparison, 12 men have been put to death since 1977, when Illinois reinstated the death penalty.

The story of the political crisis surrounding the mounting number of wrongful convictions is well-known. Then-Gov. George Ryan called a moratorium on executions and appointed a commission, including judges, prosecutors and defense attorneys, to assess the extent of the problem. Turow was among those who served.

The panel, which met for two years, came up with 85 suggested reforms. Among them: No murderer should be sentenced to death if the conviction is based solely on the uncorroborated testimony of a single eyewitness or accomplice; the courts should determine the reliability of jailhouse informants; the number of eligibility factors for a death sentence should be reduced; and interrogations of suspects should be videotaped.

Turow remained a close observer as lawmakers wrestled with the commission's conclusions. And wrestle they did. Though they deemed some suggestions too controversial or unworkable, lawmakers did a praiseworthy job of debating and approving a significant number of them. They voted, for instance, to allow the Illinois Supreme Court to overturn death sentences it finds "fundamentally unjust," to require hearings on the credibility of jailhouse informants and to require investigators to tape interrogations. That last reform, addressed in separate legislation, was signed into law.

The commission's report and the legislature's actions are covered in detail by Turow for anyone who wants a recap. But the most compelling aspect of his book is the personal history, Turow's own struggle to find where he stands on the death penalty.

He begins with the potential for error. Because murder is the gravest of crimes, it arouses the most fear and passion, in individuals and in communities. And this makes prosecution of that crime more susceptible to error than with other crimes. This, he concludes, "calls either for safeguards we have yet to institutionalize — or even fully conceive of — or for renewed reflection about whether to proceed with capital punishment at all."

And, though the death penalty is meant to be reserved for the most vicious of murderers, Turow finds plenty of evidence that perpetrators of what could be called more "typical" murders end up on Death Row.

This brings Turow to his strongest argument against the death penalty: the randomness of its application — randomness by race, gender, geography, the lawyers, the jurors — is, in short, "anything but the kind of bright-line proportionate morality the death penalty is intended to symbolize."

In the end, Turow voted for abolition in the commission's unofficial poll of its members. He expects to stick to that position. He also expects American opinion to continue to "ebb and flow."

But his time on the commission, he believes, taught him he was looking at capital punishment the wrong way. "There will always be cases that cry out to me for ultimate punishment. That is not the true issue. The pivotal question instead is whether a system of justice can be constructed that reaches only the rare, right cases, without also occasionally condemning the innocent or undeserving." □

Peggy Boyer Long can be reached at peggyboy@aol.com.

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What, me worry? The governor is happy with his first budget

by Aaron Chambers

Gov. Rod Blagojevich has on his happy face. Since the General Assembly adjourned for the summer, the governor has been busy applauding his administration for plugging a \$5 billion budget hole. After all, he won the Executive Mansion by running against “business as usual” cronyism, wasteful spending and budget talks behind closed doors.

Blagojevich says he’s comfortable with the implementation of his first budget. Instead, his concerns relate to the fiscal year beginning next July. In fact, the governor’s budget office already is predicting a deficit upwards of \$2 billion for the next fiscal year.

There’s no question balancing that budget next spring will pose a daunting challenge to the governor and lawmakers. But as the General Assembly convenes this month for the veto session, there is widespread concern about the \$53 billion budget for this fiscal year. Specifically, legislative budgeteers worry that revenues will not meet expectations.

Blagojevich’s budget this year depends in part on a host of one-time cash infusions, including the sales of a riverboat license and state properties. That means he and lawmakers will need to find other means of supporting next year’s budget.

In the immediate future, though, it’s not clear whether these revenue mech-

But as the General Assembly convenes this month for the veto session, there is widespread concern about the \$53 billion budget for this fiscal year. Specifically, legislative budgeteers worry that revenues will not meet expectations.

anisms will perform this year.

The state hasn’t sold its 10th casino license, for instance. Blagojevich is counting on \$350 million from that sale. But the license is tied up in federal bankruptcy court in Chicago and in hearings before the Illinois Gaming Board, which is trying to revoke the license from Emerald Casino Inc.

The state also has not sold the James R. Thompson Center in Chicago, the toll highway headquarters in Downers Grove and some Elgin Mental Health Center property. Blagojevich proposed the sale of these properties, and his budget counts on revenues of \$200 million, \$30 million and \$3 million, respectively.

Nicole Grady, a spokeswoman for the Illinois Department of Central Management Services, which would handle such sales, said in mid-October that agency had not heard of interest in any of the three properties.

Blagojevich is optimistic on all counts, though. He says plenty of opportunity remains. This fiscal year ends in June.

Meanwhile, state tax revenues are lagging. Analysts for Comptroller Dan Hynes report that receipts for sales and income taxes were flat or in decline during the first quarter of this fiscal year compared to the same period last year. Individual income tax receipts were down 2.9 percent, from \$1.65 billion to \$1.6 billion, they say, while corporate income tax receipts were down 14.1 percent, from \$156 million to \$134 million, and sales tax receipts were up just 1 percent, from \$1.56 billion to \$1.58 billion.

“We have not come even close to our projections on revenues for this point in time,” says state Sen. Donne Trotter, a Chicago Democrat and chief budget negotiator for the Senate Democratic caucus.

Lawmakers may make Blagojevich’s task more difficult. Some have pledged to use the veto session to restore some \$190 million in cuts the governor made in the budget approved in the spring. Rep. Gary Hannig, chief budget

negotiator for the House Democrats, calls this the "biggest danger" facing the governor this month.

"There's a fair amount of money on the table that he's used his veto pen to create," he says. "One of the focuses of the veto session, I think, will be the final disposition of that money."

The governor isn't worried. "The only thing that could cause us some concern would be a dramatic downturn in the economy, and the indications are that's not happening — that the economy little by little is actually turning in the other direction."

There are signs the national economy is improving. Last month retailers reported their third straight month of better-than-expected sales. Ed Boss, chief economist at the Illinois Economic and Fiscal Commission, predicts "continued growth" in the Illinois economy. And the importance of economic conditions cannot be overstated.

The comptroller's analysts, in the office's report on the first quarter of the fiscal year, say the performance of the state and national economies will override other factors at issue in the budget. "If a measurable recovery does not occur," they say, "it is more than likely that the cash flow problems of the past two years will continue and perhaps be exacerbated."

Still, Hannig and other budgeteers say state government is fortunate, and the governor is "lucky" that Illinois is benefiting from a major cash infusion from the federal government. As part of a federal relief package, Illinois should receive an additional estimated \$675 million during this fiscal year — \$422 million in flexible grants and at least \$253 million in temporarily increased Medicaid reimbursements.

"It's been a cushion and thank goodness we've had that cushion because it's generally been a tight budget year," Hannig says.

Yet, administration officials maintain their budget does not depend on this unanticipated support. In fact, Becky Carroll, spokeswoman for the governor's budget office, says that while the state is rolling the money into general spending as it arrives, the administration nonetheless will have on hand a reserve in the amount of the infusion at

The budget climate is aggravated by grumbling about the administration's decision not to publish quarterly reports. It traditionally publishes quarterly reports on the state's economy and revenue outlook.

the end of fiscal year 2004. At that point, she says, officials will negotiate with legislative leaders to determine whether that money will be used in fiscal year 2005 or used for this year's "rainy day" purposes.

"It's easy," she says. "It's just a matter of managing your cash flow, your revenue and spending. It's simple to do. Any major corporation or state has the ability to do it if they're monitoring their spending and revenue."

Meanwhile, others are mulling ways to generate more cash for the state. During the veto session, lawmakers are expected to vote on a hospital tax increase designed to increase Medicaid reimbursements from the federal government. Sen. Jeff Schoenberg, an Evanston Democrat leading the effort, says the proposal should generate an addition \$300 million in federal matching funds for hospital expenses and \$150 million for other health care expenses.

A proposal to sell naming rights to state-owned property is also looming. Blagojevich says his administration envisions concession stands in state parks and state buildings. And putting advertising on state vehicles is under consideration, he says.

There is talk, too, about an income tax increase. Doug Whitley, president and chief executive officer of the Illinois State Chamber of Commerce, has said some Illinois businesses would prefer a temporary increase in individual and corporate income taxes to

another round of fee hikes. As part of this fiscal year's budget, the state raised and created a host of fees to generate some \$300 million in new revenue annually.

Trotter, a proponent of raising the individual income tax, says it's not likely to happen this month. And the governor, of course, has pledged not to raise general taxes.

The budget climate is aggravated by grumbling about the administration's decision not to publish quarterly budget reports. Though the governor's budget office evidently is not statutorily required to do so, it traditionally publishes quarterly reports on the state's economy and revenue outlook.

The budget process in Illinois is driven by the governor. Budgeteers say they look to the report for the administration's assumptions on revenue, federal funds in particular.

The latest edition of the report posted on the budget office's Web site covers the first quarter of fiscal year 2003 — a full year ago.

Trotter suggests the move is deliberate. "The governor campaigned on a promise of 'no more business as usual.' So I guess my interpretation was things would be much more open, with more sunshine, not 'let's hide the fact that we have not met our goals,'" he says. "We as elected officials are not on the top of the list of people to trust. Hiding the numbers from people just exacerbates that already negative opinion."

But Carroll, the budget office spokeswoman, says budget analysts are busy with other priorities and are not required to produce the report. More important than the report, she says, is that the budget office monitors state revenues "week to week" and works with state agencies to ensure they stay within quarterly expectations for spending.

She says the administration has sufficiently demonstrated that it's "taking the lid off state government." It does not publish this weekly report, she says, because, "We don't have to publish that. This is for our own internal management purposes." □

Aaron Chambers can be reached at statehousebureau@aol.com.

BRIEFLY

WEATHER REPORT

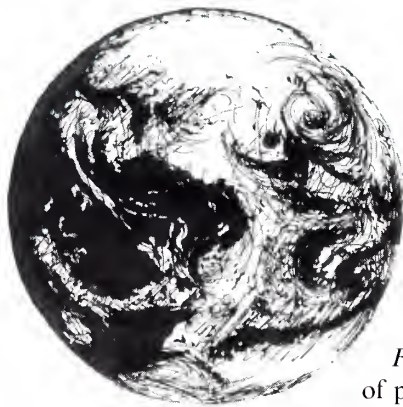
Woolly winter forecast

Each fall, woolly bears begin their hazardous journey across Midwestern roadways, warning of coming winter. And this year's unscientific study of the fuzzy forecasters seems to indicate that a cold one is on the way: The darker varieties dominated, and their coats were heavy.

But professional scientists don't put much stock in such portends, and the long-range forecast by the National Weather Service indicates the caterpillars may be wrong. The meteorologists, who recently released their three-month prediction, anticipate below-average precipitation and above-average temperatures through the end of December.

Even scientific projections are tricky this year, though, because the usually dominant El Niño phenomenon is atypically neutral, not trending warmer or colder. The El Niño/La Niña cycle in the southern Pacific Ocean is one of the main indicators meteorologists use to make long-range weather predictions, says Gerald Bell of the National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration's Climate Prediction Center.

"There is a certain amount of built-in instability in the weather patterns, but certain phenomena, such as the



El Niño, tend to dominate that natural variability and create strong predictive indicators." He says that without a strong indication of where the cycle is heading, meteorologists are reluctant to make hard-and-fast predictions about the coming winter.

This is not the case for the 2004 *Old Farmer's Almanac*, now in its 211th year of publication. Not given to equivocation, the *Almanac* predicts it will be much colder than normal throughout the Midwest from November through March. Precipitation and snowfall also will be above normal for the region, it asserts. Residents of the southern part of the state can look forward to heavy snow around Thanksgiving, while those who live in the northern section should prepare for a nasty cold snap between Christmas and New Year's.

Staff at the *Almanac* predict the weather using a secret formula devised by founder Robert Thomas, a formula rumored to be based principally on the influence of sun spots.

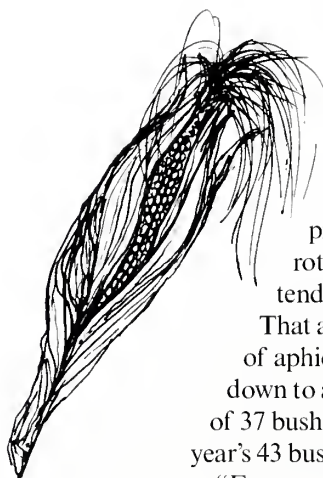
They do not, however, consult woolly bears.

Joseph Andrew Carrier

HARVEST

Good news and bad

The good news for farmers this fall is that the corn harvest is yielding a bumper crop and is expected to break the state record yield of 156 bushels to the acre. In mid-October, the state average was forecast at 169 bushels to the acre, 33 bushels to the acre better than last year, according to Darrel Good, agriculture economics professor at the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign.



But just as row crop farmers thought they might get ahead, they got some bad news. The soybean crop is turning out to be the worst in years. The harvesting revealed signs of stress caused by a dry August that promoted the growth of charcoal rot, a fungus present in the soil that tends to attack during dry spells.

That and an unusually severe infestation of aphids has drawn soybean numbers down to a forecasted statewide average of 37 bushels to the acre, well below last year's 43 bushels to the acre.

"Farmers are wrapping up the soybean

harvest, and these numbers are pretty much confirmed by farmer yield reports," says Good.

He says that's the story nationally too. "We're seeing big declines in Minnesota and Iowa as well." Iowa, second in soybean production, is averaging 34 bushels to the acre.

However, some farmers, particularly those in southern Illinois, could do better than last year. That region is averaging one-third higher yields. Yet, with statewide and national yields forecasted lower, Good says we're seeing the highest prices in six years. Soybeans were trading at \$7.24 a bushel in mid-October.

Corn, on the other hand, was trading at \$2.16 a bushel. Corn farmers may still make money, particularly in central Illinois. Their yields are forecast to be the highest in the state at 193 bushels to the acre, 44 bushels better than last year, with some farmers reporting more than 200 bushels to the acre.

And Illinois could outproduce Iowa, which plants more acres in corn and soybeans and is first in corn production. "We're within an eyelash [on corn]," says Good. Out of nearly 1.9 billion bushels of corn forecast to be harvested in each state, Illinois is behind by only 5 million bushels.

Beverley Scobell

ONLINE SALES

State joins suit to collect

The state is cracking down on companies it claims should be charging Illinois customers sales taxes for online purchases. Attorney General Lisa Madigan joined lawsuits against 62 companies, claiming the retailers have enough physical presence in the state to collect those taxes.

The suits rely on long-standing legal principles often used to collect sales taxes on mail-order purchases, says Ben Weinberg, chief of the public interest division in Madigan's office. When retailers first launched Internet operations, several set up separate corporations to handle online sales.

Weinberg says because online stores wouldn't be physically located in most states, they weren't charging most customers for state sales taxes. But, he says, as Web operations have become more sophisticated, they've blurred the lines between the online stores and their brick-and-mortar counterparts. Many Web sites, for example, allow customers to return merchandise to local stores.

Companies named in the suits are as diverse as Hallmark and Frederick's of Hollywood. Other well-known defendants include Armani Exchange, Blockbuster, Gateway, Barnes & Noble, Borders, PetSmart, Bally Total Fitness, Guess?, Toys-R-Us and Tupperware.

As of mid-October, retailers were still receiving copies of the suits.

This is the second round of tax enforcement actions against online retailers. Madigan's office pursued five other stores, including Wal-Mart, earlier this year.

Daniel C. Vock
Chicago Daily Law Bulletin

Learn and vote

Civics education matters.

Evidence, detailed in a report released last month by the Representative Democracy in America Project, shows that civics courses do make a difference in young people's attitudes toward citizenship. Those individuals in the so-called DotNet generation, between the ages of 15 and 26, who have had such classes are more likely to be knowledgeable about government and more likely to be active in public affairs.

The report was based on a national opinion survey conducted over the Internet. It found that, overall, young people are disengaged from the political process and lack the knowledge necessary for effective self-government.

Individuals in older generations, also surveyed, fared better in their appreciation and support of American democracy. But the report gave them a failing grade for not doing an effective job of teaching the ideals of citizenship to the next generation.

The survey was done by Knowledge Networks, a research firm that specializes in scientifically based Internet surveys. The sampling error was plus or minus 4 percentage points. The project is a collaboration among the National Conference of State Legislatures' Trust for Representative Democracy, the Center on Congress at Indiana University and the California-based Center for Civic Education. The authors were Karl Kurtz of the national conference and Alan Rosenthal and Cliff Zukin of Rutgers University.

Some of the more disturbing findings taken from the report:

- Only half of the DotNets reported that they voted in the most recent elections or that they follow politics, compared to three-quarters of the respondents over the age of 26.
- Only 66 percent of the DotNets say that voting is a necessary quality for being a good citizen, compared with 83 percent of those over the age of 26.


An encouraging finding:


- Among the DotNet generation, 64 percent report that they have taken a high school course on civics or American government. Those who have done so are much more likely to believe they are personally responsible for making things better for society and have a more expansive concept of the qualities of a good citizen. On the importance of voting, for example, there is a 24-point spread between those who have taken a government class and those who haven't.


www.ncsl.org/public/trust/citizenship.pdf

THEY'LL BE BACK A veto checklist

Lawmakers return to Springfield this month for a fall session that threatens to extend beyond the scheduled six days: The 4th-6th and the 18th-20th. For starters, Gov. Rod Blagojevich says he'll force lawmakers into a special session if they can't come up with a compromise on ethics legislation.

 The governor used his amendatory veto power to make sweeping changes in the ethics measure legislators approved last spring. He wants to prohibit taxpayers' money from being spent on public service ads that showcase constitutional officers and lawmakers. Among other suggestions in his 23-page veto message: the addition of an inspector general and an ethics commission to look into complaints of wrongdoing. Negotiators are working on a compromise.

 The governor also made changes in the legislature's comprehensive death penalty reform package. He balked at a provision that lowered the threshold for prosecuting police officers who may have lied on the stand. Sponsors of the legislation say they'll push for an override.

 The governor vetoed outright a measure to require sex offenders to undergo psychological evaluation and treatment. Attorney General Lisa Madigan is calling on legislators to over-ride that veto, too.

If the legislature doesn't accept or reject the governor's vetoes of these measures, they will die.

You Betcha!

Illinois ranked fifth in the nation in legal gambling in 2001, with \$2.75 billion in total wagers. A report on gambling in the states, released by the National Conference of State Legislatures, ranks Illinois only behind Nevada, New Jersey, New York and Michigan, with the nation's total wagers standing at \$52.8 billion.

Illinois' total represents gambling in the lottery, on horse racing and at riverboat casinos.

MEDICAID SPENDING States stem costs

Throughout the country, state spending on Medicaid declined in 2003 for the first time in seven years. According to a report by the Kaiser Commission on Medicaid and the Uninsured, that's largely because of cost-cutting measures.

Medicaid, a joint state-federal program, provides health insurance for 51 million low-income Americans. Its cost has been rising steeply, largely because of the weakened economy. Collectively, states face at least a \$70 billion shortfall this fiscal year.

As a result, all 50 states plan or have enacted cuts. Among the strategies cited by the commission: reducing provider payments, reducing eligibility and/or benefits and increasing co-payments.

Cost-cutting measures enacted in Illinois include:

- decreasing reimbursement rates for doctors, dentists and nursing homes;
- freezing rates for hospitals and home care providers. All other reimbursement rates were frozen.

However, this fiscal year, Illinois expanded eligibility for the FamilyCare program, which provides insurance for working parents, as well as the KidCare insurance program for children in low-income families.

The commission, an initiative of the California-based Kaiser Family Foundation, is a philanthropic organization focusing on health care issues.

www.kff.org/content/2003/4137/4137.pdf

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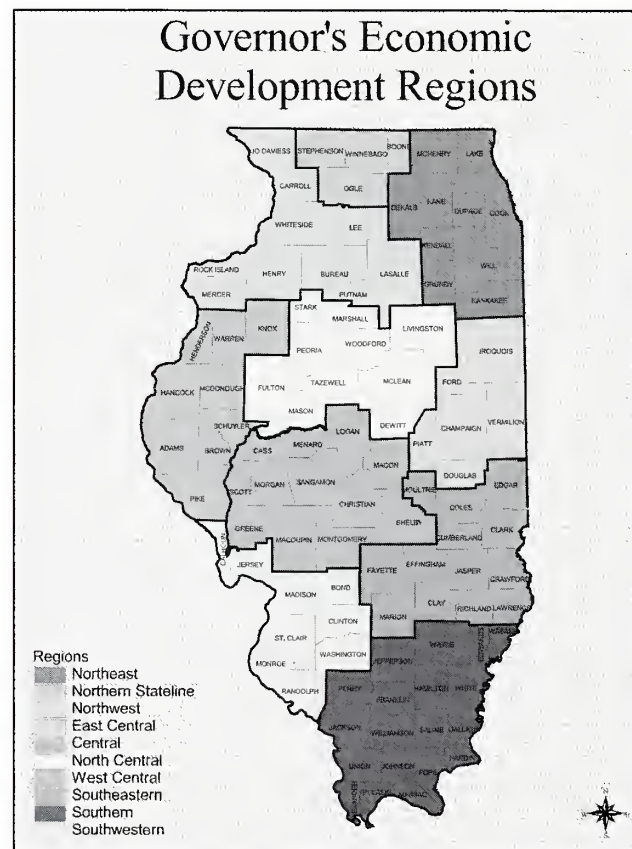
Economic development

Gov. Rod Blagojevich's administration is taking a regional approach to economic development. By dividing Illinois into 10 areas, and assigning staff from the state Department of Commerce and Economic Opportunity to each

region, the administration hopes to better link citizens and local development groups with state resources.

Administration officials have not articulated specific economic development goals or a time frame. But Blagojevich emphasizes that job growth is the standard by which he will measure the program's success.

"There's a healthy skepticism out there by [the media] and the public, and rightfully so," he says. "Politicians time and time again talk about their economic plan. They've got a plan for job creation and all the rest, but the guy sitting in Decatur



is still looking and wondering why he's not getting ahead in life. We have to be able to show that there's some job growth and that's how we will measure our success or lack of it with this effort."

The governor says details on plans for each region are forthcoming. Meetings are under way between department staff and local interest groups to formulate the program's vision. The first such announcement was expected late last month.

Jack Lavin, the department's director, is spearheading the project.

HEALTH INSURANCE Coverage gap widens

The number of Americans who don't have health insurance climbed by 2.4 million to 43.6 million between 2001 and 2002, the U.S. Census Bureau reports. The decline is pegged to a drop in the number of people receiving insurance through employers.

The number of Illinoisans without insurance changed little between 2001 and 2002, hovering at about 13.9 percent of the state's population.

www.census.gov/prod/2003pubs/p60-223.pdf

Uninsured Americans by age group

Under 18:	11.6 %
18-24 year olds:	29.6%
25-64 year olds:	17.7%
65 and over:	.8%

Americans covered by employers

2002:	55.2 %
2001:	56.3 %

Source: Health Insurance Coverage in the United States: 2002.

MARYVILLE ACADEMY

Home sorts out new role

With apologies to Mark Twain, reports of Maryville's death have been greatly exaggerated. The state's largest residential facility for abused and neglected kids, and a favorite charity of politicians and local celebrities, was still in business as of mid-October.

After several tumultuous months of negotiations between state officials and Maryville's leaders on the future of the institution — in particular, its sprawling Des Plaines campus — it appears that facility will continue serving wards of the state, though most likely with a different mission. Rather than providing residential care for a variety of youths, some with extreme mental health problems, the Des Plaines campus appears destined to become an "academic enrichment center" for teens and college-age wards.

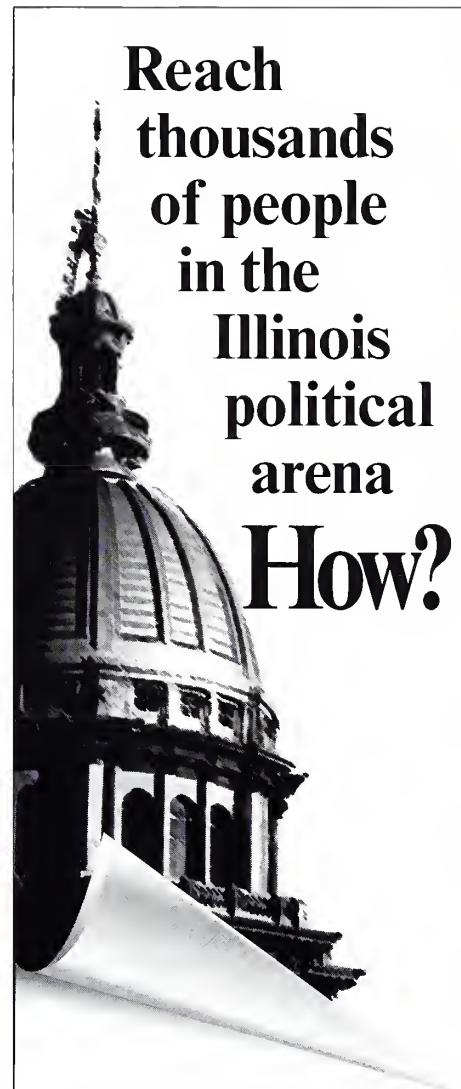
Once praised for its ability to turn wayward youths into productive citizens, the Roman Catholic institution seemed to spin out of control in recent years. Last year, a 14-year-old Maryville girl killed herself in a bathroom. There also were numerous fights and sexual attacks — and allegations that staff had tried to hide some of the scandals.

The Illinois Department of Children and Family Services last summer ordered Maryville to shape up. The agency hired a new director, James Guidi, and started making changes. But the improvements weren't enough, the state said. Moreover, state officials charged, Maryville's longtime charismatic leader, Father John Smyth, was resisting reforms.

When the state agency announced in mid-September the Des Plaines campus would be shut down by Christmas and the remaining 130 residents relocated, the Maryville community was in shock. Hundreds of employees, volunteers and current and former residents gathered at several high-profile rallies.

By the first week of October, a compromise had been reached. Thirty-nine children, many with serious psychiatric problems, will be moved to more suitable facilities. The rest of the children will be allowed to stay through this school year if they wish, and if their evaluations show Maryville is the best place for them. Maryville, meanwhile, must undertake significant changes in management and programming and prepare itself for its new role as an educational center.

Stephanie Zimmermann
Chicago Sun-Times



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Poverty on the rise

The number of Americans who are living in poverty rose by 1.7 million through 2001 and 2002, according to a recent U.S. Census report, *Poverty in the United States: 2002*.

The total number of Americans living in poverty, 34.6 million, grew in each of the two years. The number of families living in poverty climbed from 6.8 million to 7.2 million.

The Midwest, including Illinois, was especially hard hit. Between 2000 and 2001, 10.4 percent of Illinois' population lived in poverty. Between 2001 and 2002 that percentage rose to 11.5 percent. In fact, Illinois was one of nine states the Census Bureau deemed as having had significant changes in their rates of poverty.

In 2002, an adult under the age of 65 was considered to be living in poverty if his or her income totaled \$9,183 or less. Americans considered to be living in severe poverty — those with an income at half the poverty threshold — rose to 14.1 million in 2002, from 13.4 million in 2001. These people account for 4.9 percent of the total U.S. population.

www.census.gov/prod/2003pubs/p60-222.pdf

U.S. Poverty

The 2002 threshold as set by the federal Office of Management and Budget

Family of four:

\$18,392 annual income

Family of three:

\$14,348 annual income

Family of two:

\$11,756 annual income

Source: U.S. Census Bureau

HEALTH BULLETIN • HEALTH BULLETIN • HEALTH BULLETIN

• **Work hazards**

Illinois' workplace deaths fell to a 10-year low in 2002 when 190 people were killed. That's lower than the previous year by 41 deaths. But more people died at work in 2002 as a result of homicide than from any other cause. Thirty-seven people were murdered while on the job compared to 34 in 2001, according to figures released by the Illinois Department of Public Health.

Illinois workplace deaths	Top causes in 2002
2002:190	Homicide:37
2001:231	Falls:27
2000:206	Highway accidents: ...21

• **Tobacco dollars**

States have allocated more than \$17.3 billion in tobacco settlement revenue for health-related services and biomedical research over the past four years, according to a report by the National Conference of State Legislatures. The report finds that 46 states have spent \$1.8 billion on smoking prevention efforts. Illinois' \$15.8 million allocation is the lowest in three years. In FY '02, it was at a high of \$51.5 million.

- Illinois' tobacco revenue so far: **\$1.3 billion**
- Amount allocated in FY 2004: **\$277 million**
- A few of the uses: Medical research, prescription drugs for seniors, grants to Fermi National Accelerator Laboratory

Source: National Conference of State Legislatures. The report, State Management and Allocations of Tobacco Settlement Revenues 2000.

• **West Nile cases**

A 78-year-old Cook County woman was this year's first fatality from the West Nile virus, according to the Illinois Department of Public Health. The agency has received notice of 43 cases during this year's mosquito season. The West Nile virus is transmitted to humans by mosquitoes that have bitten infected birds.

October 2002:	614 cases
	35 deaths
October 2003:	43 cases
	1 death

Source: Illinois Department of Public Health

AFFORDABLE HOUSING
Panel to write plan

St. Charles, a suburb on the Fox River in Kane County, has doubled in the last decade to nearly 32,000 people. And St. Charles increasingly appeals to the upwardly mobile. The price of an average home there is \$345,000, and monthly rent begins at \$900, according to the Metropolitan Planning Council.

By most counts, this is good news. But when a developer wanted to build a Meijer store that would employ 500 people, residents began to ask who would work there. Employees who make slightly more than minimum wage can't afford to live in St. Charles.

But that community isn't the only one faced with this problem.

To address it, Gov. Rod Blagojevich has created a permanent task force to monitor the issue, saying the shortage of affordable housing "poses a serious threat to the well-being of communities across the state."

He identified underserved populations he wants the task force to include: households earning below 50 percent of the area median income, with an emphasis on those earning 30 percent of the area median income; seniors and people with disabilities; the homeless and those at risk of being homeless.

But the poor aren't the only people at risk, according to Kelly King Dibble, director of the Illinois Housing Development

Authority and chairwoman of the task force. "If schoolteachers, police officers, sanitation workers and other vital members of a community cannot afford to live near where they work, basic services become prohibitively expensive," she says.

The governor stipulated the vice chairman of the panel should come from the private sector, and he chose Robert Grossinger, senior vice president of LaSalle Bank in Chicago.

He also named U.S. Rep. Bobby Rush, a Chicago Democrat, Lt. Gov. Patrick Quinn and the heads of the departments of Human Services, Aging, Commerce and Economic Opportunity, Public Aid, Public Health, Transportation and the Office of Management and Budget.

Other members represent such Chicago-area organizations as Metropolis 2020, Latinos United, the Chicago Housing Department and the Metropolitan Planning Council. But organizations from other areas of the state are represented, as well, including the Southern Illinois Coalition for the Homeless, the Rock Island Economic Growth Corp. and the East St. Louis Housing Authority.

The panel has been directed to complete an annual housing plan by December 31 and report to the governor and the General Assembly by April 1 of each year.

Beverley Scobell

ELECTION REPORTS

State parties could help circumvent McCain-Feingold

State political parties helped national campaigns hang on to cash for candidates' expenses, and they are likely to continue to do so — even if the McCain-Feingold finance reforms hold up to legal challenges — the authors of a recent study found.

"While [that] ban on soft money closes one fundraising door at the federal level, 50 other doors remain wide open to the states," maintains the report, which was released this fall by the Helena, Mont.-based Institute on Money in State Politics.

Passing the Bucks: Money Games That Political Parties Play focused on campaign finance in 13 states, including Illinois. The study was funded by the Pew Charitable Trust, a Philadelphia-based nonprofit.

The group looked at money raised by state parties and legislative committees in the 1998, 2000 and 2002 election cycles, before the federal reform law took effect. The researchers turned up 153 trades of so-called hard and soft money over the three election cycles.

The majority of "soft" money contributions had to be directed toward party building or issue advertisements, while more coveted "hard" dollars can be used to support specific candidates.

"The benefit to the national parties? They could avoid the strict federal formula requiring them to pay for issue ads with

65 percent hard money during presidential election years and 60 percent in other years," the report explains. "In the 13 study states, the percentage of hard money required from state party committees for issue ad expenses ranged from 22 percent to 50 percent."

Illinois, which has no restrictions on sources of campaign contributions, is a popular choice for such trades. For instance, during the 2000 campaign, national committees funneled to Illinois party organizations \$5 million to buy ads. That \$5 million in issue ads cost the state party committees \$1.7 million in hard cash, and the remainder in soft dollars. The same ads bought by the national party organizations would have required \$3.3 million in hard funding.

One of the things the McCain-Feingold law does is ban unlimited soft money contributions to federal parties.

Nonetheless, the authors of the study conclude: "The soft-money dollars may well flow directly to state-level party committees in the future." Parties may go through independent expenditure committees. "But if past practice is any indication, contributors looking for a place to give large political donations will find — or create — the pathways to do so, and state party committees are poised to receive the money."

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HISPANIC VOTERS

Will they play a role next year?

Hispanic voter turnout tends to be low. But one national survey suggests candidates simply aren't making enough effort to reach them.

An analysis of the results from the *National Annenberg Election Survey 2000* offers a few suggestions for the '04 presidential campaign. (Teams from the Annenberg Public Policy Center are scheduled to begin interviews for the 2004 survey.)

Annenberg, located at the University of Pennsylvania, included more than 4,676 Hispanics in the 2000 survey. Hispanics, which constitute 10 percent of the voting age population, cast about 6.5 percent of the ballots in that election.

That may be, the research suggests, because politicians paid less attention to them. Just 17 percent of Hispanics said they were contacted by a presidential campaign in the fall of 2000. Thirty-two percent of all Americans were contacted.

In a more recent indicator, Hispanic turnout was weak in the California gubernatorial recall election last month. California's 11.9 million Hispanics, who make up a third of the state's population, cast only about 17 percent of the total votes, according to an Associated Press report from that state, though Lt. Gov. Cruz Bustamante could have become the state's first Hispanic governor in more than 125 years. That group's voting bloc was splintered in part because of the multitude of candidates.

Still, a study by Johns Hopkins University in Baltimore predicts Hispanics will play a major role early in next year's Democratic presidential primaries. New Mexico and Arizona, both with large Hispanic populations, have joined the early multistate round of Democratic primaries and caucuses on February 3.

www.appcpenn.org/hispanics%20pres%20release.pdf

www.jhu.edu/lpgp-aslgovernment/hvp

CANCER DEATHS

Racial and ethnic disparities to be studied

The University of Illinois at Chicago will study why African Americans and Hispanic Americans die from cancer at higher rates than other racial and ethnic groups.

The UIC Center for Population and Health and Health Disparities, established in September, received more than \$7 million from the National Cancer Institute. The center is one of eight across the country that will study racial and ethnic disparities in health over the next five years.

The initial focus will be breast cancer, a disease that particularly reflects racial and ethnic disparities. Death rates for breast cancer in white women fell 2.5 percent during the 1990s, but for black women the drop was 1 percent, according to the National Cancer Institute's annual report published in September.

Roughly equal proportions of white, black and Hispanic women receive regular mammograms, yet minority women are more often diagnosed with more advanced breast cancer, when treatment is least effective. As a result, African-American women are twice as likely, and Hispanic women are 1.5 times as likely, as white women to die within five years of a diagnosis.

The grant will support research to design and test a community-based strategy to lower the incidence of death in minority women because of late-stage diagnosis and treatment.

The UIC researchers are working with the Chicago Department of Public Health and the Healthcare Consortium of Illinois, an organization on the South Side of Chicago that addresses health disparities. Other partners in the study are the UIC Midwest Latino Health Research and Policy Center, the UIC Institute for Research on Race and Public Policy and the UIC International Center for Health Leadership Development.

Beverley Scobell

CAMPAIGN DISCLOSURE

Study rates the state

A recent study ranking states on campaign disclosure called Illinois the second-best in the nation, largely because of its advanced electronic filing program. But in other categories, Illinois' campaign disclosure practices didn't win favorable reviews, bringing its overall grade down to a B.

The study was conducted by the Campaign Disclosure Project, a collaboration of the California Voter Foundation, the Center for Governmental Studies and the University of California at Los Angeles School of Law. It was funded by the Pew Charitable Trust.

Illinois' campaign disclosure law ranked 28th, with a grade of C, while its electronic filing program got an A+ and a first-place ranking in that individual category.

"Illinois has one of the best campaign finance disclosure programs in the nation," the report states. "However, its overall B grade shows that Illinois has room for improvement, particularly in its campaign financial disclosure law."

The study notes, for instance, that Illinois only requires filers to name contributors' occupations and employers if they gave more than \$500.

The only state to rank higher overall than Illinois was Washington. The authors of the study gave 17 states failing grades for campaign finance disclosure efforts.

www.campaigndisclosure.org/gradingstate

Illinois' Report Card

Overall Grade	B
.....	Rank 2
Campaign Disclosure Law	C
.....	Rank 28
Electronic Filing Program	A+
.....	Rank 1

Source: Campaign Disclosure Project

A LABORATORY Latino Chicago

Scholars at the University of Illinois at Chicago received a \$325,000 grant from the Rockefeller Foundation to study interactions of people from diverse national origins and social experiences in Chicago's Latino community. The grant will support five postdoctoral fellowships over the next three years.

Nationally, Latinos number more than 37 million, and Illinois has the fifth-largest population in the nation. Of the 1.5 million Latinos in the state, nearly half live in Chicago. Yet most scholarship on this diverse community has taken place on the coasts.

"Chicago is a laboratory for the country," says Amalia Pallares, political science professor and chairwoman of the search committee.

The first fellowship will focus on Latino migration and transnationalism in Chicago and the Midwest.

Brown v. Board of Education jubilee commemoration

The 50th anniversary of the U.S. Supreme Court's ruling to outlaw racial segregation in the nation's public schools is coming up and the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign will be recognizing that decision with a yearlong commemoration.

Brown v. Board of Education marked a turning point in the nation's history. Authors, visiting scholars, performing artists and civil rights participants are among the invited guests who will present lectures, seminars, art exhibits and performances to mark the social changes.

Artists Amaniyea Payne, Dianne McIntyre and Sekou Sundiata will perform this month. Payne, a dancer with the Muntu African Dance Company of Chicago, and McIntyre, a choreographer and dancer, will discuss in a public forum on November 3 the impact the *Brown* decision has had on the development and growth of black art in North America. On November 9, Sundiata will speak and perform parts of his project-in-process titled *State of the Nation*, in which he explores post-September 11 issues in activism and scholarship.

Among other activities: A visiting professor from Penn State will lecture on the contributions of African Americans to U.S. and Illinois agriculture. And in early December the university will hold a conference titled "The Achievement Gap in C-U: The Unfinished Agenda of Brown."

For a complete listing of events, see www.oc.uiuc.edu/Brown/events.html.



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College costs

Do the states still want to support public institutions of higher learning?

by Aaron Chambers

Walter Wendler appreciates society's changing attitudes about its responsibility for higher education. As a scholar, Wendler, who also is chancellor of Southern Illinois University at Carbondale, enjoys the nuances of this evolution. He's intimate with the details of the federal Morrill Act of 1862, which marked the first federal aid aimed at institutions of higher learning. The land grant act, as it's called, conveyed to the states parcels for developing colleges of agriculture. This led to the establishment of state universities, including the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign.

It also planted the notion that higher education is a collective responsibility. Though an individual experiences private gain in taking advantage of higher education, the ultimate gain would be to the public good. "The opportunity to go to school was seen not as a property interest," Wendler observes, "but as a tremendous opportunity that was undergirded by both the federal government and the state government through the Morrill Act.

"When people went to school back then, they were changing their economic destiny and the destiny of their children. They were ceded this opportunity, provided literally by and for the state, to build an economy and bring agriculture and manufacturing out of the handcraft industry into the modern mechanized era."

Wendler acknowledges the changes that began in the decades following

World War II. The postwar years brought unprecedented growth in the nation's colleges and universities. And this fueled the transformation of the nation's view of higher education: from a public good to a private benefit that confers, primarily, individual economic rewards.

As the second and third generations of families headed for college, higher education increasingly was seen as a right. "It started to be seen, instead of as an opportunity to be seized, as more of an expectation," Wendler says. "The offspring of professional people, who themselves have a college education, are typically expected to pursue that same course of action."

Wendler recognizes all this. But as a leader of a major state university, he has to grapple with practicalities. As chancellor, he's responsible for the future of a university campus with a \$334.4 million budget, at a time when public colleges and universities must increasingly generate financial support outside the halls of the state Capitol.

"Growth in higher education has not come from the taxpayers," he says. "It's come from students who pay higher fees. It's come from the federal government and private enterprises that fund research projects. And it's come from donors who make gifts to the institution."

While it's true that state appropriated support for Illinois' public colleges and universities has increased over the years, it hasn't grown by as much

as other sources of funding, including tuition and government contracts. In fact, the state of Illinois each year covers a smaller portion of operating expenses at Southern and other public universities, as lawmakers struggle to balance such competing priorities as health care for poor people, prisons and K-12 education.

This trend, and the political pressures behind it, has been apparent for at least a decade, some say since the 1970s. It's expected to continue. And it suggests a more fundamental shift: To the extent that they're increasingly seeking support independent of government dollars, public institutions more often resemble their private counterparts.

Wendler has data that show the state's share of operating funds at SIU's Carbondale campus decreased from 56.4 percent in 1978 to 40.2 percent in 1998. Operating revenue generated from tuition and fees, meanwhile, increased from 15.6 percent to 19.4 percent during that 20-year period, while government grants and contracts more than doubled, from 6.1 percent to 13.1 percent.

This is consistent with a statewide trend. According to the Illinois Board of Higher Education, state appropriated funds to public universities increased by 42.2 percent from fiscal years 1992 to 2002, while university income funds (tuition and fee revenue) increased by 77.8 percent.

The fastest-growing source of funding was nonappropriated government grants and contracts.

Local government grants and contracts grew 211 percent, while those from the state grew 164 percent and those from the federal government grew 108 percent. Much of this money is dedicated for specific purposes and is not rolled into general operations.

The trend is national, too. According to data compiled by the National Center for Education Statistics — adjusted to constant dollars by the State Higher Education Executive Officers — the share of revenue for public degree-granting institutions generated by tuition and fees increased from 12.8 percent of the total in the 1974-75 school year to 18.5 percent in the 1999-2000 school year, while the share of state government appropriations decreased from 42.5 percent to 32.3 percent.

This illustrates how far public institutions have been pushed toward the private realm. James Palmer, a professor of higher education at Illinois State University in Normal who conducts an annual 50-state survey of higher education funding, says there's no centralized set of data that would allow him to determine which institutions "really crossed that line, and there's probably no real agreement about where that line is." But, he says, public higher education institutions have demonstrated a renewed emphasis on private funds since the mid-1970s. "Even community colleges have built up their foundations to the extent that flagship universities have," he says. "The private funding is now part and parcel of the funding package to public higher education in a way that it probably wasn't before the 1970s."

For their part, policymakers say they don't detect a deliberate philosophical shift in the government's commitment to higher ed. But Republican state Sen. Steven Rauschenberger of Elgin, who is vice president of the National Conference of State Legislatures, says lawmakers in Illinois and other states do appear to be backing into the concept of aiding the student and making the institution more self-sufficient.

"I think we're tracking in that

direction, but it's certainly not an organized effort or philosophical change," he says. "It just comes down to when you have to cut budgets, it's much easier to tell the U of I to figure something out than to tell 14,000 families who were hoping for one more year of [financial aid] so they can finish school."

Yet, in praise that's reminiscent of support for school vouchers, the longtime critic of higher ed spending notes that grants funded through the state's Monetary Award Program can be spent at private institutions as well as public ones. "When you scholarship students instead of aiding campuses, it makes the universities compete more robustly to attract students by controlling their costs and fees and enriching their programs. In theory, you're really improving the system for the student because the student directs the cash instead of the appropriation committee."

The General Assembly consistently has demonstrated strong support for MAP grants. The budget for this fiscal year increases funding for the Illinois Student Assistance Commission, which administers those grants, by 3.3 percent to \$398 million. Gov. Rod Blagojevich reduced the legislature's appropriation by \$6 million, and this figure reflects that.

The role of higher education itself may be undergoing change. "I think states are really in a position where they've got to think through what a public university means and if they really want them or not," says Joni Finney, vice president of the San Jose, Calif.-based National Center for Public Policy and Higher Education.

David Wright, senior research analyst for State Higher Education Executive Officers, a think tank and advocacy group based in Denver, says this: "I think as long as there is state funding, there will be a public purpose. But I think legislatures are starting to see higher education more as a private good than a public good."

This would be a major historical shift. The country's founding coincided with a statement of government support for education. Two months

In praise that is reminiscent of support for school vouchers, Sen. Steven Rauschenberger of Elgin notes that grants funded through the state's Monetary Award Program can be spent at private institutions as well as public ones.

before the U.S. Constitution was submitted to the 13 states for ratification, Congress established a precedent. The Second Continental Congress, in July 1787, adopted the Northwest Ordinance to govern the Northwest Territory. The law provided that, "Religion, morality and knowledge being necessary to good government and the happiness of mankind, schools and the means of education shall forever be encouraged."

Direct financial support for higher education began with the Morrill Act, which promoted the education of citizens who couldn't afford to attend private universities on the East Coast. Congress intended that each state would "claim the benefit of this act, [for] the endowment, support, and maintenance of at least one college where the leading object shall be, without excluding other scientific and classical studies, and including military tactics, to teach such branches of learning as are related to agriculture and the mechanic arts, in such manner as the legislatures of the states may respectively prescribe, in order to promote the liberal and practical education of the industrial classes in the several pursuits and professions in life."

A little more than a century later, though, criticism of unchecked university expansion was widespread. And increasingly there were other pressing government priorities, including health care and crime. As budgets at public universities continued to grow, the share of state

support shrank.

Marvin Lazerson, a University of Pennsylvania educational historian, argues in the September 1998 edition of the *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* that higher education became “a victim of its own successes” in the postwar years.

“Able to assume a continuing clientele, to capitalize on the aspirations for upward mobility that so marked American society in the postwar era, and to attract a seemingly unending stream of government funds, higher education charged what the traffic would bear,” he wrote.

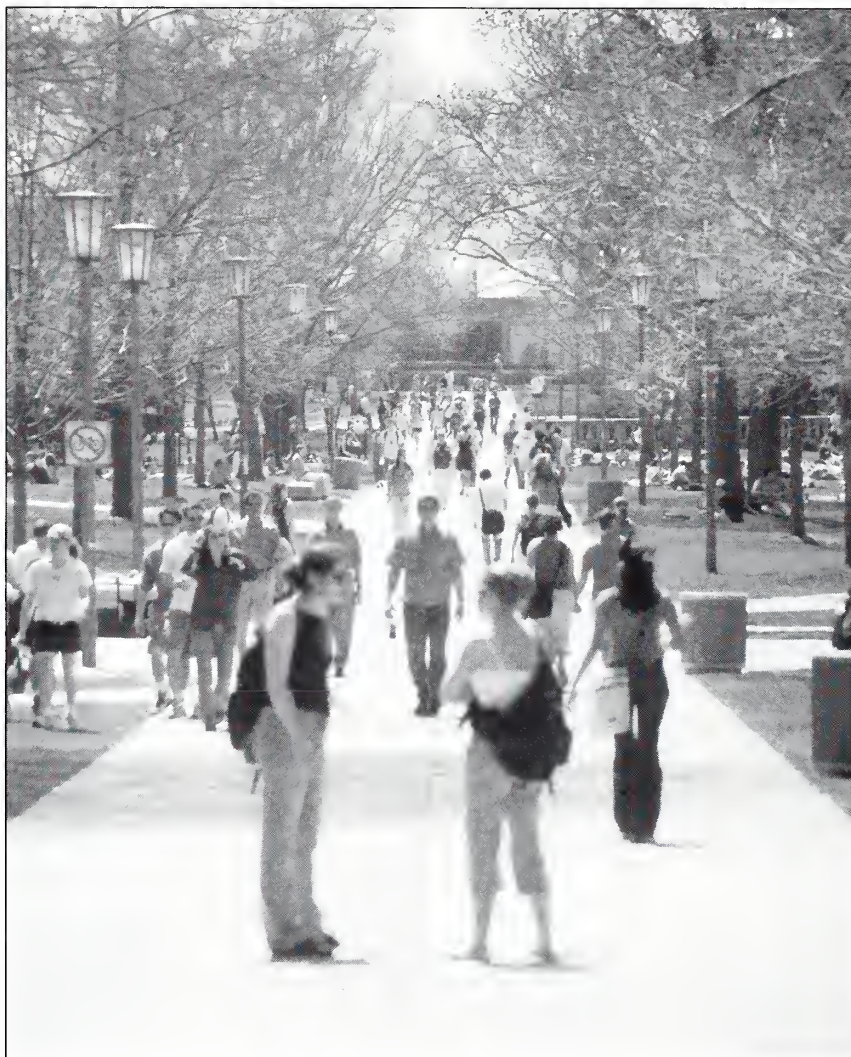
“By the 1980s, those costs would so substantially outpace inflation and the growth rate of median family income that higher education looked like yet another greedy industry.”

By the 1990s, he wrote, higher education had “come to look like other monopolies and powerful industries of postwar America.

“Like the U.S. auto industry in the 1970s, it dominated the market, produced the best products, and paid off those who invested and worked in it. But also like the auto industry, higher education failed to recognize its hubris and the environmental changes occurring around it.”

Last year, the National Center for Public Policy and Higher Education issued *Losing Ground*, a report that identified five national trends relative to public colleges and universities: College has become “less affordable” from the perspective of American families; federal and state financial

aid has not kept pace with tuition increases; more students and families at all income levels are “borrowing more money than ever before”; the steepest increases in tuition are imposed during economic downturns, when higher education budgets tend to absorb disproportionately larger cuts than other state-funded services;



and tuition increased at a greater rate than state appropriations to higher ed during the 1980s and most of the 1990s.

University officials contend they're raising tuition and fees to make up for dwindling state support, while state and federal policymakers, who don't accept the argument, are moving to block this fiscal strategy.

Blagojevich, a Democrat who made criticism of rapidly rising tuition a centerpiece of his campaign last year, approved a law in July requiring

universities to cap tuition for four years. Under that law, the state's public universities must guarantee all first-time undergraduates who are state residents the same tuition rate for four consecutive academic years — or longer for degrees that ordinarily take more time. Students beginning college next fall will be the first class to benefit from this mandate.

State budget officials take a practical approach to the subject; they steer clear of the larger philosophical debate. Rather, they frame their position on higher ed funding in the context of the strained state budget.

“There is absolutely no question that in the middle of the fiscal crisis, priorities do have to be set. And the governor has been very specific as to what his priorities are,” says Brenda Holmes, the deputy chief of staff for education. “He's also indicated that we do need to do more with less, and we want to make sure that we direct more money to the classrooms. So I don't know that this is a particular shift; I don't believe it is a particular shift.”

Universities, just like elementary and secondary schools, she says, simply must focus dollars on the classroom rather than administration.

Neither she nor Ginger Ostro, the governor's higher ed budget analyst, adopts Rauschenberger's suggestion that funds are better spent on students than on campuses. Ostro says state funding targets “two sides” of higher education: financial aid for students to support their choice in schools, and direct aid to community colleges and public universities.

She also insists that any dialogue

on higher ed funding should consider capital spending. The higher education capital budget for the current fiscal year is \$111.7 million, down from \$338.3 million in fiscal year 2003, according to the state Board of Higher Education.

Ostro notes also that public universities received \$1.3 billion for this fiscal year's operations. "That's not an insignificant contribution," she says. "I think there's real commitment there."

The state's budget crisis has further increased pressure on colleges and universities, as policymakers moved last spring to eliminate an estimated \$5 billion deficit. The General Assembly cut higher education appropriations for the current fiscal year by \$108.2 million, or 7.7 percent. And there's concern among higher ed officials the administration will seek more cuts in this month's legislative veto session.

"That gap is growing and that will have to be resolved," says Chester Gardner, vice president for academic affairs at the University of Illinois system. "Certainly there's a potential that the University of Illinois may see a midyear cut. I hope we don't." He says cuts made earlier this year had a "deleterious" impact on students. "If we have a midyear cut, that's simply going to further exacerbate that."

The governor's education and budget staff, however, say they don't anticipate seeking such a rescission.

It's more likely the schools will face continuing pressure from state and federal politicians to hold down tuition. GOP leaders in Washington, D.C., are setting the stage already for a tough, accountability-driven approach to higher ed funding as they prepare to reauthorize the federal Higher Education Act next year. U.S. Rep. Howard McKeon, a California Republican who chairs the committee handling the rewrite, proposes cutting federal aid for campuses that raise tuition at twice the rate of inflation two years in a row. At the end of September, the seasonally adjusted annual rate of inflation was 2.5 percent. The first year, schools would be required to detail how they intend to hold tuition down in the future. If tuition rises at twice the rate of inflation the next year, the feds would impose sanctions, perhaps strip-

ping an entire campus of eligibility for student aid programs.

McKeon calls himself "a friend of education," but he says he's "fed up" with skyrocketing tuition costs that close the doors of higher education to prospective students. He accuses universities of taking advantage of federal funding by simply raising tuition to attract more dollars. "Why should we continue to subsidize that? Right now we're giving [universities] incentives. Let's withdraw those incentives. They will call it penalizing them. I say let's stop subsidizing their ability to increase tuition."

The U.S. Department of Education identifies three major types of campus-based federal aid: grants, work study aid and loans. The department says these three programs accounted for \$1.93 billion in aid in fiscal year 2003: \$760 million through supplemental grants, \$1.004 billion through work-study assistance and \$166.4 million through Perkins loans. Combined, they provided \$34.4 million in aid to 25,613 students at Illinois' public universities in fiscal year 2002, according to the Illinois Board of Higher Education.

The White House also could be preparing a tough stance. According to a report published in the *Chronicle of Higher Education*, President George W. Bush's staff is weighing whether, as part of his re-election bid next year, he should issue a scathing critique. The report says Bush would accuse colleges of "closing the doors of higher education" by making it unaffordable to students of low- and middle-income families, and reprimand the schools for "allowing" too many students to drop out.

Illinois' university officials are paying attention to these moves. Gardner, with the University of Illinois, calls McKeon's proposal misguided. "They fail to understand that the reason tuition is rising is not that university costs are out of control. It's just that costs are being shifted from what has been state support over to students and their families."

Nevertheless, higher ed leaders will have to respond to Blagojevich's "truth in tuition" law. As a result,

***U.S. Rep. Howard McKeon,
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several campuses are raising tuition at extraordinary rates to overcompensate for revenue they say will be lost. Southern's Board of Trustees, for example, is mulling an increase of 15.9 percent over this year's tuition. It could vote on the issue this month.

Undergraduate students at that university pay \$4,245 a year. Should the board vote to adopt the increase, first-year undergraduates will pay \$4,920 next year.

"Setting rates that will hold for four years requires careful planning and excellent forecasting," Wendler said when Southern announced its proposal. "This rate figures out to about a 4 percent annual increase over four years."

The University of Illinois raised tuition 5 percent this year after raising it 10 percent last year. School administrators sought an 8 percent increase this year, but ran into opposition from Blagojevich, who called that too high in light of last year's increase. Tuition for undergraduates beginning school this fall is up \$266 to \$5,568 per year at the flagship Urbana-Champaign campus; up \$234 to \$4,898 at the Chicago campus; and up \$164 to \$3,450 at the Springfield campus.

Illinois universities are taking other action to balance their budgets. They're eyeing administrative costs and faculty productivity — both subjects of much controversy. James Kaplan, a Chicago attorney and chair of the Illinois Board of Higher Education, says all public universities in Illinois have agreed to reduce administrative costs by 25 percent over three years — fiscal years 2003, 2004

and 2005. He also says the board's faculty advisory council is negotiating with university faculty to increase productivity.

Sen. Rauschenberger, the chief budget negotiator for his chamber's GOP caucus, complains, as do others, that universities spend too much on administration and that the faculty doesn't spend enough time in the classroom.

Dan Layzell, the higher ed board's deputy director for planning and budgeting, says the reduction in administrative spending should save about \$100 million annually once the cuts are implemented. But he calls the amount of savings associated with increased productivity an "open question." Indeed, Kaplan says the first step toward increased productivity is defining it. Negotiators must address such concerns as the extent to which research should count. "Dealing with faculty is a very, very complicated and emotional circumstance," he says. "What I've tried to do is say to them, 'Come to us with your plan.'"

Kaplan also suggests the budget crisis presents an opportunity to trim excessive spending. "A lot of things that we did, when money was not as scarce as it is now, we did because it was a no-brainer: 'Just do it, spend the money, we've got it, what the heck.' We can't do that."

The debate over public university operational costs is likely to continue. A report compiled last year for the University Professionals of Illinois by Robert Ginsburg, director of the Chicago-based Center on Work and Community Development, a private research and consulting group, concluded that administrative positions at Illinois' public universities — defined generally as workers who don't teach — increased nearly 10 times faster than teaching positions between fiscal year 1993 and fiscal year 2003.

Higher education officials dispute the study, saying it oversimplifies university structure. They cite historic demand for their services. "About 80 percent of our operating expenses is personnel. And so it's driven in large part by our personnel costs — raises in salaries that are keyed to inflation," U of I's Gardner says. "But there's

also expense portions of that budget, where things like utilities have a big impact. The actual 'administrative services' component of our budget is quite small; it's less than 5 percent."

Still, Finney, with the National Center for Public Policy and Higher Education, says leaders of top public universities should share culpability. "I think state governments have been culpable for the situation, as have the leaders of the elite public institutions in the country; they are more concerned about maximizing revenue than meeting state needs.

"You've got to understand that if it weren't for the taxpayers of those states, those institutions would not exist. It is an asset that the state has developed and has invested in. I think both parties are culpable here. And I think, absent any kind of public policy leadership, they could turn more into sort of private enterprises."

Critics of higher ed spending also contend public universities have veered from their core mission — undergraduate education — by putting too much emphasis on research. Developments last month, though, cast favorable light on publicly funded research and could fuel the fight for sustained support. Two University of Illinois professors won Nobel Prizes, and advocates for higher education touted their accomplishments as evidence of the need for publicly funded research.

U.S. Rep. Rahm Emanuel, a Chicago Democrat, wrote in a letter published in the *Chicago Tribune*, "Some of my congressional colleagues often incorrectly point to public institutions as a drain on our society. One needs to look no further than these extraordinary individuals to see the benefit of investment in research." Research institutions, he wrote, "are dependent on the public's funding in order to provide common good."

Questions remain. As this public/private contract changes, will legislatures demand the same level of accountability? Wright, with the State Higher Education Executive Officers, expects so. "My sense is the legislature will be very hesitant to give up any level of authority that they have over higher education, even as public institutions

get less and less of their money from the state legislature."

Southern's Wendler says state-mandated accountability already is on the upswing. "We respond to more requests for information now generally. I don't want to be portrayed as complaining about reports, but we do feel that we do a lot of reports to the state legislature right now on what we are doing with state appropriated funds — actually, all funds. I think the expectation is for increased accountability."

And what does the public expect? Demand for higher education hasn't waned. This fall, Illinois' public universities are experiencing unprecedented interest from potential students. The University of Illinois' Urbana-Champaign campus, for instance, reported a record 6,801 freshmen this fall. Higher education officials attribute this to population growth and to sustained interest in postsecondary education. And they blame this increased demand for their increased costs.

"Because the state and federal governments cannot afford to address the number of people that want to attend — this population of potential college attendees continues to grow by sheer population growth and by expectation by their families — we no longer are able to support the demand solely off the tax dollar," says Wendler.

The system of public higher education does appear on track to become more user-financed. Nevertheless, public institutions have a long way to go before they mirror their private sector counterparts.

And Wendler, the chancellor at Southern, emphasizes that state support, albeit limited, nonetheless provides the foundation of his university's community. "Am I worried about privatization of the institutions? Not a bit," he says.

"Even though the [state] portion of our total budget at Southern Illinois University-Carbondale has shrunk from around 56 percent to around 40 percent, that 40 percent is the most important part of the whole budget because it's seed corn for the rest of it. It's stable. It is the absolute spine of the university." □

Ethical dilemma

Illinoisans care about public corruption.
Can state politicians set aside egos and follow the public's cue?

Analysis by Dave McKinney

On so many levels, voters can be indifferent. In presidential elections, barely half show up at the polls. As for state government, a recent survey released by the National Conference of State Legislatures finds that more young adults can name the hometown of the fictional Simpsons than the political parties of their governors. And in Illinois, school boards and city councils nearly always meet before seas of empty chairs.

But Illinoisans do care about political corruption. They don't like it. Most think it's widespread in state government, and worsening. They think law enforcement turns a blind eye when confronted with allegations of wrongdoing. And, most important, they think tougher state laws are the best way to attack the problem.

Those views, confirmed by a University of Illinois at Springfield poll conducted in April and May, represent a timely context over how best to take a scrub brush to the corridors of state government. Apart from whether Gov. Rod Blagojevich's budget cuts or his partial veto of death penalty reforms will be overridden, debate over a legislative response to the five-year-old federal corruption probe of former Gov. George Ryan's associates ranks among the most interesting story lines in this month's fall legislative session.

After failing to reach consensus last spring on an ethics package, Blagojevich, the other constitutional

officeholders and the legislative leaders are taking another crack at finding a way to better police government misconduct. The key players are optimistic a deal can be struck to produce one of the most sweeping changes to state ethics laws. But then again, the past has sometimes shown the end product of such debates to be do-little plans geared toward padding election-year campaign resumes.

"It shocks me that this has been like pulling teeth to get somewhere," says Cindi Canary, director of the Illinois Campaign for Political Reform, one of several parties at the negotiating table this fall. "I just can't believe you could have 60-plus indictments and 50-something convictions and not have any kind of affirmative solution enacted by the state. I don't think the public will stand for it."

Within his first few days as governor, Blagojevich challenged legislators to send an ethics package to his desk.

On the spring session's next-to-last day in May, the House delivered by unanimously approving a sprawling, bipartisan ethics plan crafted by House Minority Leader Tom Cross, an Oswego Republican, and House Speaker Michael Madigan, a Chicago Democrat. The package created ethics commissions for the executive and legislative branches and inspectors general for all of the constitutional offices and the General Assembly. These officials were charged with investigating and adjudicating wrong-

doing before it becomes a matter of concern to federal prosecutors. A \$75-a-day cap was placed on wining and dining of state officials by lobbyists. And limits were put on free golf and tennis outings for state officials. A hotline was mandated to handle tips on misconduct.

In the 24 hours that followed House passage, though, Senate President Emil Jones, a Chicago Democrat, refused to call the measure and moved a scaled-back version that included many of the House components but not the items that were most important to watchdog groups. Gone were ethics commissions and inspectors general. There would be no hotline for ethics complaints. Golf and tennis were removed from the table, as was the ceiling on freebie food for state officials.

With the spring session perilously close to overtime, it became a matter of take-it-or-leave-it. The Senate version was approved in that chamber by a 56-1 margin and was voted on the same day in the House, which signed off on the watered-down plan unanimously. But before the paperwork had moved from the General Assembly to the governor's office, Blagojevich promised an amendatory veto. In August, he made good on that pledge, and in stunning fashion.

Traditionally, and by constitutional mandate, state representatives and senators are the ones who write legislation. Governors are the ones

Gov. Rod Blagojevich
urged lawmakers to accept
his changes, but he expressed
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reconvenes.

who enact bills or veto them. In seeming defiance of this understanding, Blagojevich used 11,317 of his own words to retool the Senate-crafted ethics bill. His amendatory veto moved the measure closer to the Cross-Madigan plan with a few new twists.

"The ethics bill passed in May needs substantial improvement," Blagojevich wrote lawmakers in his amendatory veto message. "It lacks certain fundamental components present in states with respected ethics laws, such as an ethics commission. It lacks enforcement mechanisms."

Blagojevich reinserted language creating an ethics commission and an inspector general for his office and agencies under his control, though not for the legislature. He called for inspectors general for other statewide officeholders with the caveat that those investigators would report not only to their respective constitutional officers but to the inspector general he would appoint to oversee his office.

Blagojevich also toughened prohibitions against the use of public service announcements, such as organ donor ads by the secretary of state or ads promoting college savings programs by the state treasurer, if the officeholder is named, shown or heard. The legislature barred such ads only before elections. Further, the governor reinstituted the \$75-a-day lid on free food from lobbyists and allowed golf and tennis freebies only by charitable groups.

Blagojevich urged lawmakers to accept his changes, but he expressed a willingness to talk before the General Assembly reconvenes. At the same time, the governor held a stick over the legislature's head. If lawmakers don't comply with his demands for a tough ethics plan, he said, he will call a special session in December, holding lawmakers hostage over the holidays as a way to pressure them to sign on to his proposal.

No one can deny the importance of ethics reform to Blagojevich, who on an almost daily basis strives to distance himself from the corruption of the Ryan years. Indeed, it can be argued Blagojevich owes his existence

as governor to his pledge to clean up state government. The same can be said for the Democrats, who run the legislature and all but one key statewide office.

But the gravity of the issue could be overshadowed by the chutzpah Blagojevich employed in sending a "flawed" piece of legislation back to the General Assembly. His move spurred an outcry as loud as any heard during an unusually contentious spring session. The Senate president's office immediately put out word that Blagojevich overstepped his constitutional authority and trampled on the legislature's domain, a view the House speaker and several rank-and-file lawmakers still share.

"Somewhere along the line, we as a legislature cannot give up our constitutional rights and allow the executive branch to continue to rewrite legislation that we have already passed in our infinite wisdom through compromise. For one man to impose his will on the rest of the body is giving up our constitutional rights," fumes Sen. Denny Jacobs, an East Moline Democrat who voted for the Senate-inspired plan, seemingly with his nose pinched. "The ethics legislation we passed, with or without his veto, is a piece of crap.

"It doesn't do anything. It's all a big piece of show. The more important issue is whether we as a legislature allow a governor to rewrite the state Constitution."

Lawmakers weren't the only source of resistance to Blagojevich's amendatory veto. Several constitutional officers balked at his provision to set up an inspector general for each of their offices and make those positions partly accountable to a "super inspector general" the governor himself would appoint. Attorney General Lisa Madigan, Secretary of State Jesse White and Treasurer Judy Baar Topinka — who compared the freshman governor to Napoleon — all expressed concern about that framework. White and Topinka also decried efforts to clamp down on public service ads.

The breadth of these rebukes left backers of the original ethics plan in a

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fog as to what happens next. “I understand there are questions pertaining to the legality of a governor putting sweeping reforms into legislation,” says Sen. Susan Garrett, a Lake Forest Democrat and the lead Senate sponsor of the measure Blagojevich rewrote. “But, basically, what he’s done is recapture what was in the original bill. It’s not like this bill has never come before the General Assembly before, because it has. With one or two changes, it’s almost exactly what the House passed in May. It’s my hope we won’t be looking at technicalities as reasons not to debate this bill in its entirety.”

The turmoil created by Blagojevich’s maneuver threatened to unravel a spring’s worth of deliberations over ethics. When word surfaced the governor intended to rewrite the measure, two respected legislative retirees with clout in high places intervened to try to salvage something.

Former state representative and White House counsel Abner Mikva and former state senator and controller Dawn Clark Netsch, both Chicago Democrats who served on Blagojevich’s and Lisa Madigan’s transition committees, volunteered to become artisans of shuttle diplomacy between the feuding parties. “You could see that it was floating away,” Netsch says. “I said there’s no way there’s that much difference between all of these folks, and I believed and still believe they genuinely want a good, strong ethics bill. It doesn’t make sense some disconnect would maybe scuttle it.”

Netsch and other players in the negotiations believe a deal on a strong ethics plan will be brokered before lawmakers leave Springfield.

To that end, in mid-October Blagojevich showed a willingness to bend on one of his chief priorities, a governor-appointed “super inspector general.” Earlier, Blagojevich told reporters during an October visit to the capital he intends to press for a gubernatorial-appointed “super inspector general” with oversight capabilities over other inspectors general. Such a structure, the governor said, might have averted the corruption

in Ryan’s secretary of state office, where Ryan’s inspector general, Dean Bauer, covered up criminal wrongdoing to protect his boss. Blagojevich said he wouldn’t let that issue be the only impediment to an ethics deal.

“We think a super inspector general is important. Is that the deal breaker? I’ll have an open mind to some of the fears and concerns some other constitutional officers might have,” the governor said.

In the legislature, the House speaker and the Senate president also have been quiet about their plans on the matter, though a spokesman for the speaker says Madigan would like to steer the debate toward the language contained in the first House-passed bill.

In mid-October, Senate Republican Leader Frank Watson of Greenville weighed in, suggesting that unpaid gubernatorial advisers should be required to file economic disclosure statements and that aides to all constitutional officers should be required to file timesheets.

Others involved in the talks believe a general understanding has emerged and that no action will be taken on Blagojevich’s amendatory veto — this to discourage the governor from future top-to-bottom rewrites of legislation. If an ethics package is to be approved this fall, some sources say, it likely will be in the form of a new measure.

“It’s important enough for me that I won’t play politics,” says Cross, who, like Blagojevich, shot out of the gates last spring by making ethics one of his chief priorities.

“I’ll work with the speaker to make sure we get something passed. If the speaker says he won’t call the bill because the governor has gone beyond his bounds, then I’ll look at a trailer bill option. I’ll do whatever is realistic and prudent, given my position. I just want it to pass.”

There may be other incentives for lawmakers to sign on to reforms. Blagojevich isn’t the only politician who could reap an image boost from passing a strong ethics package. In the past year, federal investigators in Chicago and Springfield have

subpoenaed the offices of Madigan, Jones and Topinka in an apparent effort to find evidence of politicking on the state’s dime. No charges have been lodged nor specific allegations raised.

The systemic focus on misdeeds in state government that grew out of the federal investigation of Ryan’s administration is underlined by the results of the University of Illinois at Springfield’s survey, which indicated the public is looking for action. Seventy-six percent of the poll’s 600 respondents, surveyed at the tail end of the legislature’s spring session, described corruption as widespread in state government. More than half believed corruption at the state level has broadened in the past eight years and nearly 70 percent stated that law enforcement tends to look the other way when confronted with allegations of corruption.

There seemed to be broad public support in the poll, directed by UIS researcher Richard Schuldt, for some of the ideas on the table in the veto session. For example, 88 percent of the respondents said they believed setting up an independent inspector general to investigate misconduct would reduce corruption “some” or “a lot.” Eighty-four percent said the same thing about establishing an ethics board. And even more, 91 percent, saw promise in opening and promoting a hotline to report unethical behavior.

That roughly two in three Illinoisans in the poll believe tougher anticorruption laws are needed should serve as notice to those involved in the talks to set egos aside and follow the public’s cue — if for no other reason than political self-preservation.

“On the campaign trail, the governor, attorney general and lots of legislators were all talking about ethics,” Canary says. “There is going to be a demand that some action now follow all that talk.” □

Dave McKinney is Statehouse bureau chief for the Chicago Sun-Times.

PROMISES AND LEGACIES

Illinoisans will help the nation choose a leader for our future. What will we need to know from our past?

Bellwether or deviate

Illinois was a leading edge state in presidential politics over the last century

by John S. Jackson

Illinoisans have an impressive record of picking winners in presidential elections. Throughout the 20th century,

the citizens of this state voted for the national victors in all but two elections (1916 and 1976), finishing the final quarter with an unbroken string of electoral support for the next resident of the White House.

This made Illinois a prize worth competing for, a battleground for all would-be presidents. And it burnished our title as a “bellwether” state, a microcosm of the nation. After all, we have a big diverse city, sprawling suburbs, small towns and a large rural population. And we have competitive political parties. “As goes Illinois,” analysts

would say, “so goes the nation.”

So how goes it now? At the dawn of the 21st century, our title is in jeopardy. Illinoisans didn’t support the national presidential winner in November 2000, at least not the Electoral College winner. This state’s voters chose Democrat Al Gore over Republican George W. Bush by a margin of more than half a million votes.

What’s going on here? Is this another of those anomalies, a blip in the record, or something more? There are a couple of long-term scenarios: Illinois could

Candidates to watch

As of mid-October, the following mainstream candidates remained in the race for the Democratic presidential nomination. President George W. Bush will likely be the Republican nominee. For more information on these and other candidates, please see www.vote-smart.org.

Carol Moseley Braun is the only Illinoisan in the race. She is an advocate for universal health care. A Chicagoan, Braun served in the Illinois House. She became the first African-American woman elected to the U.S. Senate, representing Illinois from 1992 to 1998. She served as ambassador to New Zealand.

Wesley Clark stresses government accountability. A Rhodes Scholar and West Point grad, he rose through the U.S. Army to the rank of general and served as the Supreme Allied Commander of NATO forces from 1997 to 2000. Since his retirement, he has been a commentator on military and international affairs for CNN. He resides in Arlington, Va., and has never held elective office.

Howard Dean considers a balanced budget to be a central component of his domestic plans. He practiced medicine throughout his tenure in the Vermont House of Representatives. He is a former governor of that state. The Burlington native opposed the war in Iraq.

John Edwards would eliminate portions of the Bush tax cut that benefit the most wealthy, preferring a \$500 across-the-board cut for every family. A Raleigh resident, he represents North Carolina in the U.S. Senate.

Richard Gephardt would require all employers to provide health insurance. In return, they would receive a tax break for 60 percent of the cost. He has served in the U.S. House of

Representatives from Missouri since 1976. The St. Louis native is House minority leader.

John Kerry would make getting American troops home quickly his highest priority. A decorated Navy veteran of the Vietnam War and a Boston resident, he represents Massachusetts in the U.S. Senate.

Dennis Kucinich wants to guarantee public education from pre-K through college, and would withdraw from the World Trade Organization and NAFTA. The Cleveland native entered the public arena through city politics, including a stint as mayor. He has served in the U.S. House since 1996.

Joseph Lieberman supports stronger air pollution controls. He rose through the ranks of Connecticut’s state government, first as a senator, then as attorney general. He was elected to the U.S. Senate in 1988 and was the Democratic nominee for vice president in 2000.

Al Sharpton advocates amending the U.S. Constitution to guarantee a quality education and access to health care. An ordained Pentecostal minister, he has run unsuccessfully for public office four times: for the New York state senate, for mayor of New York City and twice for the U.S. Senate. The Brooklyn native is an outspoken activist on civil rights.

The Editors

Dates to watch

January

- 13: District of Columbia *
- 19: Iowa
- 27: New Hampshire

February

- 3: Arizona; Delaware; Missouri; New Mexico (D); North Dakota; Oklahoma; South Carolina
- 7: Michigan (D)
- 8: Maine (D)
- 10: District of Columbia (R); Tennessee; Virginia
- 14: District of Columbia (D)*; Nevada (D)
- 17: Wisconsin
- 24: Hawaii (D); Idaho (D)
- 27: Utah

March

- 2: California; Connecticut; Georgia; Maryland; Massachusetts; Minnesota; New York; Ohio; Rhode Island; Texas; Vermont; Washington
- 9: Florida; Louisiana; Mississippi
- 13: Kansas (D)

16: Illinois

April

- 13: Colorado (D)
- 27: Pennsylvania

May

- 4: Indiana; North Carolina
- 11: Nebraska; West Virginia
- 15: Wyoming (D)
- 18: Arkansas; Kentucky; Oregon
- 25: Idaho

June

- 1: Alabama; New Mexico; South Dakota
- 8: Montana; New Jersey

Alaska is the only state that doesn't have a primary or a caucus. Colorado, Maine, Michigan and North Dakota have eliminated their primaries but still have Democratic caucuses. New Mexico made its primary optional, and Utah will cancel its primary unless its legislature appropriates funds in 2004. Unless they are statewide, caucuses are noted by party.

* Nonbinding primary; Democratic delegates to be chosen at February 14 caucus.

Sources: Federal Election Commission; National Conference of State Legislatures.

The Editors

be leading the nation toward a new Democratic era. Or we could be lagging behind a gathering Republican tide. If we credit the competing claims of political analysts, either of these scenarios is possible.

Kevin Phillips predicted Conservative Republican dominance as early as 1970 in his book, *The Emerging Republican Majority*. He argued the South would lead an electoral shift, making Republicans the new national majority party. Under this scenario, long advanced by a number of political practitioners, Illinois will stop lagging behind the national tide and join the Conservative Republican majority.

But now John B. Judis and Ruy Teixeira have turned that prediction on its head. Their book, *The Emerging Democratic Majority*, published last year, counters Phillips' classic assessment with a second scenario: A new Democratic coalition is taking shape nationally, encompassing the progressive-to-moderate spectrum. Judis and Teixeira begin by noting that the states Al Gore won constitute 267 of the 270 electoral votes needed to win.

It's notable too that, besides Illinois, Democrats won the other big and diverse industrial states of California, Michigan, Pennsylvania and Wisconsin. (And then here's an asterisk for the record: Al Gore actually won the popular vote.)

According to Judis and Teixeira, it is precisely those diverse urban areas of the nation that will experience growth in the 21st century. Those are the places where service- and knowledge-based professionals drive the postindustrial economy. Judis and Teixeira use absolute numbers in projecting such growth, and they've coined a name for the phenomenon. They call these diverse growth areas the "ideopolis," generally meaning multiethnic metropolitan areas that transcend city, county and state boundaries.

As for Illinois, they write, "In 2000, Gore won the state easily, 55-43 percent, with Nader garnering 2 percent. Democrats have gained ground in the ideopolis around Champaign and in Chicago's outlying "collar" counties, but where Illinois

has become irretrievably Democratic is in Chicago and its immediate Cook County suburbs."

Given these alternative assessments, it's worth taking a second look at the factors that made Illinois a "bellwether" state in the last century. Key to that title was the competitiveness of the two major parties. Over the long haul, either party could win any race in Illinois. And that has been reflected in divided government control.

Up through the 2002 midterm elections, there was a 10-10 split in Illinois' U.S. House delegation, as well as one Democrat and one Republican in the U.S. Senate. That changed after 2002 to 10 Republicans and nine Democrats in the U.S. representative delegation, still close. As for the state's constitutional officers, four Republicans and two Democrats served between 1998 and 2002. The Illinois House was controlled by Democrats throughout most of the 1990s, while Republicans controlled the Illinois Senate by a narrow margin between 1992 and 2002. Only the governor's office, which the GOP controlled for the 26 years between 1976 and 2002, proved an exception to the rule that Illinois is a "swing" state.

In the 2002 election, though, Democrats enjoyed an unprecedented sweep of all but one of the state's constitutional offices — Republicans held on to the treasurer's post. Along with the governor's mansion, Democrats took control of the Illinois Senate and retained control of the Illinois House.

Of course, this surge in Democratic dominance was due, in part, to political issues specific to Illinois, including the scandal hanging over the outgoing GOP governor, George Ryan, and internal state Republican Party conflicts.

Still, could this be the beginning of a long-term shift? While Illinois is a big and complicated state well known for its Byzantine politics, there are patterns. And they are stable enough to project into the future with some confidence. It is clear, first of all, that the central city of Chicago arrested its steady decline in population, and even gained somewhat, between the census years 1990 and 2000. Gentrification

paid some dividends in this regard. But the biggest population growth over that decade occurred in suburban Cook County and in the other counties surrounding Chicago. This is the most dynamic growth region in Illinois, an ideopolis under Judis' and Teixeira's scenario. It is also an area that is trending Democratic.

Chicago remains solidly Democratic, of course, while the largest suburban county, DuPage, is in the Republican camp. And for most of the decade of the 1990s, the political power in Springfield reflected this reality. The four state legislative leaders consisted of two Democrats from Chicago and two Republicans from DuPage County.

But parts of that equation are now in transition. The largest percentage of population growth in the region occurred in Will, Kane and Lake counties, in that order. At the same time, these suburban counties are becoming more diverse — and, as a consequence, more Democratic. As is suburban Cook County.

Democratic Gov. Rod Blagojevich's campaign offers one case study. That victory was fashioned from a strong showing in Chicago and in suburban Cook County. Blagojevich also garnered support downstate. In fact, he would not have been the Democratic nominee had it not been for his tremendous downstate margins in the March primary. This support continued in the general election when counties in the high-growth Metro East area around St. Louis and in deep southern Illinois turned in large percentage margins for the Democrats.

Nevertheless, the issue to stress is how well Blagojevich ran in the south suburban Cook County townships, as well as in west suburban Proviso, Oak Park, Berwyn, Cicero, Stickney and Leydon and north suburban Niles and Evanston.

As political scientist Paul Green has pointed out, Blagojevich took just less than half of the suburban townships (13 out of 30). However, his suburban Cook County vote total exceeded Republican opponent Jim Ryan's by more than 50,000. As Green notes, south suburban Thornton Township alone gave Blagojevich more than

half of his Cook County plurality, and Evanston Township on the north, Proviso on the west and Rich Township on the far south gave him a plurality of more than 10,000 votes. It is only in such far northwestern townships as Barrington, Palatine, Schaumburg and Hanover that the Republicans did well — though not as well as they have done historically.

Blagojevich's 2002 victory showed what a strong Democratic candidate can accomplish in the Chicago area and statewide. It also served to emphasize how much the suburbs are changing.

Nevertheless, though Judis' and Teixeira's book was published in 2002, its prognostications did not look so prescient for Democrats in the cold hard wake of a national victory for the Republicans in 2002. Kevin Phillips' 1970 prediction of an emerging Conservative Republican majority was suddenly back in vogue, and Illinois appeared to be a deviate case.

All politics is local, as the saying goes. And the outcome in Illinois in the 2004 presidential election will depend on how the public perceives Blagojevich's leadership, and that of the dominant Democratic majority in the legislature. It may depend, in particular, on how well they handle the state's budgetary problems.

So, will Illinoisans become an integral part of a national Republican coalition, as they have at some points earlier in the state's history? Or will the rest of the nation move in the direction of the Democratic ideopolis as outlined by Judis and Teixeira? Much will depend on the candidates and their campaign skills, the issues and ideas of the moment. There is nothing inevitable about either scenario.

Illinois Democrats and Republicans alike will start with some basic materials, dependent on history, culture and geography, from which they will need to fashion a winning coalition. □

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Memory and history

Why it's necessary to understand Abraham Lincoln, America's 16th president

by Phillip Shaw Paludan

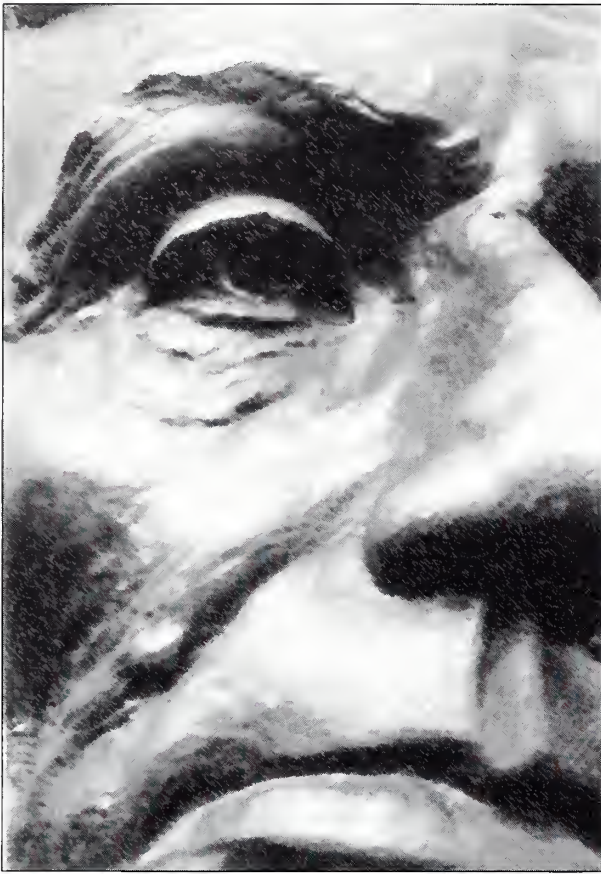
Abraham Lincoln's legacy has impact. Attorney General John Ashcroft, in a recent example, trotted it out to justify the Patriot Act. For this reason, it is necessary for us to understand what the legacy means, how it shows itself and why it has such power.

Certainly, Lincoln's legacy is not embodied in the knick-knacks and the tchotskes and the artifacts. Even the memorials and the museums fall short. His legacy transcends names on buildings. It is a much more serious and powerful force because it shapes our memories, and memories shape the future. We need always to challenge these memories of Lincoln.

First, let's establish that Lincoln has much to say to modern policymakers. Begin with this: In February 1864 Lincoln met Illinois General John A. Palmer to discuss reconstruction policy. They disagreed. Palmer flared up and said, "Mr. Lincoln, if I had known that this great rebellion was to occur, I would not have consented to go to a one-horse town like Springfield and take a one-horse lawyer and make him president." Lincoln shot back, "Neither would I, Palmer. If we had had a great man for the presidency, one who had an inflexible policy and stuck to it, this rebellion would have succeeded and the southern confederacy would have been established. All I have done is that I have striven to do my duty today, with the hope that, when tomorrow comes, I will be ready for it."

There's a contribution from the Lincoln legacy we might all consider.

But it is well to note that Lincoln has several legacies. Merrill Peterson, in his 1994 book, *Lincoln in American*



Memory, identified five memory-images: the Savior of the Union, the Great Emancipator, the Man of the People, the First American and the Self-Made Man. I would add Lincoln the Chief Executive. Each of these images has been favored, then contested. And we should challenge each one. One way to do this is to note that these memory-images are products of a particular time and place.

For example, some have insisted that Lincoln really wanted to save the Union, not to free the slaves. This argument prevailed as the 19th century turned to the 20th century, a time when post-slavery race relations were at their nadir, when lynching thrived. Then,

Lincoln the Emancipator existed only in African-American newspapers and journals. The Union Saver was considered Lincoln's true and invaluable legacy. The Lincoln-blessed goal was to build unity between the South and the North, the white South and the white North. Lincoln's emancipation legacy got lost in the stampede to celebrate the shared valor of both Union and rebel soldiers.

This very powerful legacy lives today. We see it in the public's emphasis on Civil War battles and military history. In that context, valor is highlighted; both sides are brave and noble. Meanwhile, the causes of the Civil War — especially slavery as the cause of the war — get minimal consideration. Even Ken Burns ends his fine Civil War series by celebrating the 50-year reunion at Gettysburg in 1913. Old men replicate Pickett's charge, then shake hands across a stone wall. But there is almost no discussion of whether the world that slavery made had been eliminated, or weakened enough to make the 620,000 deaths worth it. One of Lincoln's legacies threatens to silence the others.

It is important, though, to keep Lincoln's several legacies alive, to put them in conversation with one another, to try to understand how one corrects or amplifies another. Conservatives emphasize Lincoln as the Self-Made Man, and yet wouldn't it change the discussion significantly to call forth the Emancipator to amplify this legacy? Then we could see how this vision of the Self-Made Man produced the most significant outreach of national power to protect equality in this nation's history. Lincoln believed that all people, black and white, should have an equal opportunity to achieve their destiny. Lincoln's several legacies, critically analyzed, deserve to be kept in play.

This is difficult because Lincoln's legacies are not rational hypotheses, easily dismissed or modified by new evidence. Rather, they exist in memory and in history. And the two are not the same. Memory is predominantly a noncritical recollection, based in deep feelings, in reverie. Nostalgia, the form we most often see, uses parts of the past to make us feel better by affirming our connection to someone good. Nostalgia appropriates that feeling for selfish purposes. We link Lincoln's legacy with walking through Mr. Lincoln's neighborhood, and feeling good about the old days. Nurtured by such nostalgia, memories about Lincoln, and about the Civil War, are deeply held — even when they're just plain wrong. My favorite bumper sticker slogan, "Don't believe everything you think," probably should be, "Don't believe everything you feel."

The best way to change and open minds is to build Lincoln's legacy on investigation and analysis. History differs in this regard from memory or nostalgia. History challenges memory to make what we think and believe about our nation reflect actual experience. At times, history doesn't make us feel good. Slavery isn't a subject for nostalgia, though for years former Confederates tried to make it so. Watch *Gone with the Wind* again sometime, or check out the more recent *Gods and Generals*.

History has more and better uses. In history we can find Lincoln as critic,

as prophet and mentor. Here is the Lincoln legacy of most use to us today. We need that history — whether it is the history of Lincoln's age or of our own — to correct memory. Everyone who studies the world that Lincoln helped to make can bring critical evaluation of those memories and legacies to the table.

Even political scientists want to know what really happened. And it's imperative that we all ask that question. Memory is a powerful force in modern governmental institutions. To understand those institutions, we need to know something about the power and mystery of memory. This is not an easy job because memory is a slippery item. For one thing, even our best authors sometimes confuse history with memory.

T.S. Eliot wrote, "This is the use of memory/For liberation — not less of love/but expanding love beyond desire and so liberation from the future as well as the past." He means, I think, that the use of history is to escape from memory. Because memory can be so heart-fully, thought-lessly, treasured as to leave us no way to find an alternative path. Our memories shape our future, unless challenged by critical thought.

Memory also retains its power because we underestimate its power. Too often we think of it as something we think *about*. But more accurately we should think about memory as something we think *with*. So many of the conclusions we draw about what we should do next, how we should approach this or that problem, rest on what we remember about past, similar, situations. Now, history doesn't repeat itself, but it sure does rhyme a lot. Recognizing this, we can see that discussions of Lincoln's legacy are not just the concern of antiquarians, not matters of nostalgia.

Modern policy decisions rest upon our views of the legacies of the past. "You can't legislate morality," they say, "as history proves," referring to the history of post-Civil War Reconstruction or of Prohibition. Lincoln is admired so widely and deeply that getting his legacy right has policy consequences. It is the Great Emanci-

pator who is the polestar of advocates of advancing equality. It is most often the fainthearted egalitarian or equality's opponent who uses Lincoln the Union Saver, or Lincoln the Self-Made Man to persuade others. It may also work the other way, a less cynical way: Belief in Lincoln the Union Saver may encourage people to be fainthearted about equality.

I would bet policymakers carry lots of memories of what Illinois politics is like, and therefore must be like, to help them achieve their goals. Their picture of Lincoln the politician is sure to have a place in that memory. It also is likely they are using Lincoln's legacy, their version of it, to gain at least rhetorical influence. And this suggests that when someone advances his or her version of Lincoln's legacy, a good question is, "Qui bono?" Who gains from this Lincoln? Saying Lincoln doesn't matter should provoke the same question: Who gains from being rid of Lincoln?

Bertolt Brecht observes: "Unhappy the land that needs heroes." But who were Marxist Brecht's heroes, and how has he escaped his own memories?

Does this ambiguity mean that everybody's Lincoln legacy counts equally? No. Some are more flawed than others. Lincoln as a Self-Made Man has been questioned ably by historian Kenneth Winkle. Lincoln rose with lots of help. And people who insist Lincoln was a racist are wrong.

The point is that studying Lincoln's legacy plays a part in analyzing government and its purposes. Involvement with Lincoln isn't a duty; it's only a necessity. He is everywhere: on statues, memorials, houses, knick-knacks. But the Lincoln that matters abides in the world much beyond these objects, large and small. His legacies pervade discussions of equality, law, justice, politics and governmental studies. Analyzed as history, debated objectively, brought critically into our conversations about where this state and nation are going, Lincoln's legacies make us a little better than we have been — or at least give us a fighting chance to be so.

What, specifically, can he provide? Well, like other great thinkers, he can

The point is that studying Lincoln's legacy plays a part in analyzing government and its purposes. Involvement with Lincoln isn't a duty; it's only a necessity.

expand our understanding of the limits and possibilities of democracy. Lincoln can challenge our modern unthinking passion for democracy, the rule of the people. He might be useful in California. Lincoln is often glorified as the great democrat. But I think he had a lover's quarrel with democracy — he thought most of the people might be fooled most of the time — he thought uninstructed citizens might choose to advance slavery, learn to live with the belief that some people have more rights than others. He worried that fanatics, even for good causes, might derail progress toward those causes. He thought the rule of law was threatened by the self-centered and the self-righteous.

Lincoln's voice, his historically validated voice, seems to me to be critical to our abiding conversations about rights and order, about means and ends. Can anyone look at the current political climate, resting on "destroy the enemy" philosophies, and not believe Lincoln's politics of "malice toward none" is needed? Clearly, politics itself dies when the opposition must be eliminated.

As in all historical study, the study of Lincoln can help explain how we got to be where we are. It can place past decisions in the context of a time, and that raises the possibility of determining how much the answers of the past fit a modern world. Yet some of Lincoln's legacy is clearly imperative in our time. □

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Dialogue on design

Chicagoans are talking architecture again. And critic Blair Kamin's is the loudest voice

by Daniel C. Vock

Photograph by Richard Barnes, courtesy of the Illinois Institute of Technology

A number of provocative buildings by well-known architects are rising in Chicago, along with chatter in architectural circles that the city could regain its national lead in innovation.

This would be a risky endeavor. The bold designs that draw attention can, by their very nature, succeed or fail spectacularly. It won't be architects or even architectural critics who will make that determination. The public will decide whether these buildings are worth visiting, living in or shopping at.

One key figure in shaping that public opinion is *Chicago Tribune* architecture critic Blair Kamin, whose book *Why Architecture Matters: Lessons from Chicago* provides insight on the success and failure of several area projects. The book, which was released in paperback earlier this year, is a trophy case of Kamin's best reviews from 1992 to 2001. It demonstrates how, with a firm grasp of the architecture business and a wide audience, Kamin has been able to excite the public.

Kamin's is the loudest voice in this discussion because of the context-rich analyses that won him a Pulitzer Prize — and because he's the city's only newspaper critic of architecture. So



Architect Rem Koolhaas' design for the Illinois Institute of Technology's McCormick Tribune Campus Center encompasses the EL.

far, though, the beginnings of what could be the architectural renaissance Kamin has so persistently campaigned for through a decade of *Tribune* reviews haven't blown away the preservation-oriented critic. His reactions to the first three projects were mixed: He found a dazzler, a dud and a disaster.

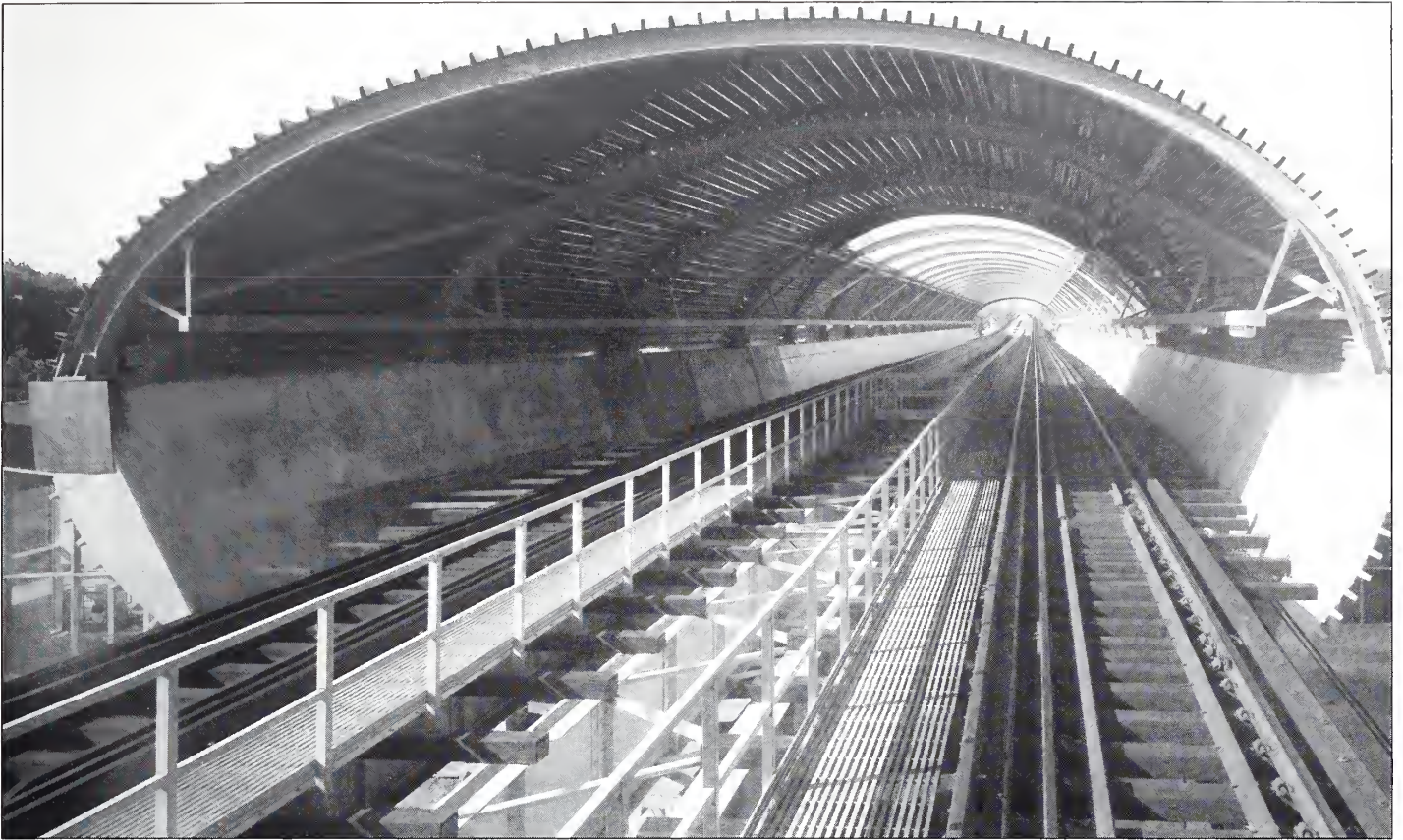
Bad reviews come with the territory for all artists; architects are no exception. Certainly Kamin's best efforts didn't stop the rehabilitation of Soldier Field — the "disaster" — but that doesn't mean his words are taken lightly. Time and again, his reviews preceded significant changes in building designs, street decorations and even the city's prized lakefront parks.

But now Kamin's attempts to inject public discussion into the planning process for all sorts of projects carries a certain irony: Kamin became the lone voice judging projects for the public after his counterpart at the *Sun-Times*, Lee Bey, left to become a high-ranking official in Mayor Richard Daley's administration.

"An open and public dialogue is absolutely critical to the health of the city," says Ned Cramer, curator for the Chicago Architecture Foundation, "but we're hearing a one-sided debate."

In the wake of Soldier Field's opening day, Cramer and others are worried the *Tribune* critic doesn't give enough credit to architects with cutting-edge designs. Kamin attacked the steel-and-glass bowl squeezed between the park's twin colonnades as a desecration of a lakefront shrine. In fact, he called it "Klingon meets Parthenon, an architectural close encounter of the worst kind."

With several other provocative buildings slated to open soon, Kamin will have plenty of other opportunities to evaluate the direction of this mini-surge in significant buildings. In a recent interview he spoke of the "powerful expressions of powerful



Koolhaas, a Dutch architect, sheathed the elevated train tracks in corrugated steel covers.

ideas side by side,” giving Chicago one of the most exciting skylines in the world.

The black steel-and-glass cage of the IBM Building, for instance, sits across the street from twin towers of curvaceous concrete at Marina City. Gothic arches topping Tribune Tower soar next to the elegant Spanish Revival clock tower of the Wrigley Building. Passengers on a river cruise can admire the cliff-like Art Deco façade of the Merchandise Mart to the north, then turn to see the sleek curves of green glass at 333 Wacker Drive to the south.

If these “conversations,” as Kamin describes them, are key to Chicago’s continued success, a new dialogue could help the city move forward with its architectural ambitions.

There are plenty of examples. Flashy steel ribbons curling four stories above a new 60-foot bandshell in Millennium Park will rise not far from a staid semicircle of Doric columns to its east and the perpendicular lines of limestone, steel and glass of a new Art Institute

addition to its south.

At the Illinois Institute of Technology, a new high-tech campus center ducks below El tracks and sheaths them in a concrete-and-steel tube — in stark juxtaposition to the now-attached clean rectangles of Ludwig Mies van der Rohe’s Commons Building. Across the street, a new dorm with gently sloping curves sits across from Mies’ acclaimed Crown Hall.

In Hyde Park, the University of Chicago’s Graduate School of Business is erecting a building that manages to play off two normally incongruous neighbors: the Gothic-style Rockefeller Chapel and the Robie House, a Frank Lloyd Wright masterpiece.

Backers of these separate initiatives have bigger goals in mind, too.

“We hope it will exhibit Chicago’s reputation as a city of significant architecture in the 21st century,” says Donna Robertson, dean of the college of architecture, about IIT’s new angular campus center.

Robertson says she hopes improvements at the college will excite the

public again about building designs. If private developers find that people are drawn to “significant” structures, they, too, might demand quality designs when building in Chicago, she says. And that could touch off a revival of Chicago architecture.

“There was a recognition among some people that design matters and that there is a pay-off,” adds Joy Malnar, an associate professor of architecture at the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign. “Cities like Chicago are competing on a world level for people to live there, for businesses to move there and for tourists to [go there].”

Many of the upcoming projects were initiated in happier economic times, but Malnar says economic uncertainty could help the quality of those buildings that are designed. Developers and architects, she says, can review their plans more closely because they usually have more time during an economic slowdown.

But Cramer believes the city must overcome several obstacles besides the

economy before it can once again claim to be the architectural capital of the country. It must attract young architects who bring fresh ideas and give more local designers commissions within its borders, he says. He also suggests city officials should give more consideration to aesthetic concerns and less sway to developers, and local universities with architecture departments should nurture architects who are exploring new directions.

"If you ask anybody in the architecture community, they'll say it feels like the winds are changing. But we're still in a moment of uncertainty, and it could spin out in a number of ways," he says.

But architecture in the city isn't a matter left only to the architects or government officials. The Chicago public is conversant in the craft. That leaves Kamin, who earned a graduate

research degree in architecture at Yale University but isn't licensed to practice, as the voice most Chicagoans hear when it comes to unfolding developments. Certainly, it's a position Kamin is comfortable with.

He's not afraid to use the bully pulpit. He identifies himself as an "activist critic," a term coined to describe writers who critique not only finished buildings but sketchbook designs before they're constructed. When it works well, the approach can stop bad ideas before they mar the landscape or shore up decent plans to make them better. But at its core, activist criticism aims to make readers, in Kamin's words, "not just consumers but citizens."

"People here care passionately about architecture. They talk about it and debate it. I help lead the debate on occasion."

One of Kamin's chief concerns is preserving architectural treasures and the spirit of the city that invented the skyscraper and took it to ever-increasing heights. For the better part of a century, the magnificent visions of Chicago architects established the city's identity as a hotbed of ingenuity (see *Illinois Issues*, December 1999). From Daniel Burnham's classical "White City" built for the 1893 Columbian Exposition through Helmut Jahn's instantly recognizable United Airlines' Terminal One at O'Hare International Airport, architects have pushed their craft forward in Chicago.

Along the way, Burnham developed the world's first skyscrapers. Louis Sullivan worked with the new form but also designed buildings still cherished, such as the Carson, Pirie, Scott Building on State Street and the ornate Chicago Auditorium. A Sullivan

Photograph by Richard Barnes, courtesy of the Illinois Institute of Technology



Koolhaas turns a barrier into a bridge by making the El tracks the focal point of his campus center.



Inside the campus center, Koolhaas borrows the late architect Ludwig Mies van der Rohe's I-beam supports, open spaces and dominance of daylight.

protégé, Frank Lloyd Wright, introduced the world to his low-slung Prairie Style architecture. Ludwig Mies van der Rohe fled Nazi Germany and landed in Chicago. His bare-bones International Style structures make up the Loop's federal complex and the bulk of IIT's campus. Jahn, another German émigré, studied at IIT under Mies and went on to design the James R. Thompson Center and an addition to the Board of Trade.

But local architects widely agree that Chicago hit a slump sometime in the 1980s. Bad press about difficulties with the heating and air conditioning systems at the Thompson Center tarnished its luster and rubbed off on modern architecture in general. An overabundance of office space didn't help either. And some suggest the city's large architecture firms failed to adapt to changing circumstances.

"It's the 'standing on the shoulders of giants' syndrome," Cramer argues. "You can get trapped on the shoulders of giants."

In 1996, Kamin wrote a column in the *Tribune* voicing that latent feeling of discontent. Chicago, the former undisputed king of the skyscraper and a century of innovation, had its "crown knocked off, its nerve lost, its capacity for future greatness diminished."

Kamin argued the city bungled big projects while cities like Los Angeles and even Cleveland were introducing compelling new buildings. A number of factors were at play, he concluded: lack of leadership at local universities, public officials wary of expensive construction projects bearing cost overruns and growing disillusionment with cutting-edge architecture.

He hit a nerve. Controversy ensued. But so did changes that addressed many of the concerns he raised.

It's one example of how the reviews included in his book brought concrete results. At his best, Kamin illustrates how design miscues contributed to the dangerous environment in Chicago's public housing high-rises. Even better,

he searches out examples of public housing that works — in Boston, Cleveland and Chicago itself. He explains the innovations that make them successes, and he doesn't limit the discussion strictly to architecture.

In 1999, Kamin won the Pulitzer Prize for his series on Chicago's lakefront, also included in the book. His analysis highlighted the stark differences between the teeming shoreline on the predominantly white North Side and the neglected Lake Michigan coast along predominantly black neighborhoods of the South Side.

Then a Lakeview resident, Kamin concluded that neither half of the city was being well-served. North Siders could barely enjoy their time in Lincoln Park because it was overrun with too many people and too many attractions. South Siders had little reason to make the journey east across Lake Shore Drive to visit their skinny stretch of park along the shoreline. And almost nobody used the famed downtown lakefront

for most of the year.

Kamin traced many of these ills to poor planning for Chicago's greatest natural treasure. Lacking that "powerful idea," he offered a vision of his own, which was highly deferential to Burnham's 1909 plan for the city but still addressed modern concerns.

The series turned out to be hugely influential. Many features of Millennium Park address concerns Kamin raised about Grant Park. Some of his suggested improvements are taking shape along the south shore. And even the Soldier Field renovation that Kamin ferociously attacked in the pages of the *Tribune* includes some of the suggestions he put forth in that series for the Museum Campus.

Kamin's writing is "not just about aesthetics," says Malnar, the U of I professor who lives in Chicago. "He pushes it to a higher level. I think he's an impetus to improvement."

After reading the *Tribune* series on the lakefront, Malnar took on the mantle and began work on a segment of the lakefront Kamin left out of his work — the shoreline north of Holly-

wood Avenue. There, in Edgewater and Rogers Park, the waterside is not "open, free and clear" as Burnham imagined it.

Daley seemed to signal last year that he'd like to extend the city's lakefront parks all the way to Evanston, even if it means building more land like that under most of Chicago's existing shoreline. Now Malnar is working with her students and community groups to study the possibilities and host a competition looking for far-reaching visions for the northern lakefront. This is an ambitious idea — and its future far from certain — but it's the kind of far-reaching thinking Kamin encourages. Unfortunately, the scope of *Why Architecture Matters* stops just as many of the developments now opening were first announced.

The Chicago Architecture Foundation's Cramer says Kamin frequently poses challenges for the area's architects. The *Tribune* critic deftly uses his reporter's instincts to track down and explain social and political issues standing in the way of quality architecture, but, Cramer says, his

"preservationist" mind-set frustrates architects who experiment with bold designs.

That conflict played out in the eye-opening renovation of Soldier Field. Maddening to many, spectacular to some, the provocative redesign has Chicagoans up in arms about architecture. Kamin timidly endorsed the plans at first, thought better of it and vigorously attacked the design until the Bears took the field. His analysis of the completed facility gave a little ground, but not much. He called it "a skillful, sometimes brilliant and ultimately jarring failure."

The rhetoric from Kamin and the *Tribune*'s editorial board became a story in itself, first in *Chicago* magazine and later in Kamin's own *Tribune*. Dirk Lohan, Mies' grandson and an architect who worked on Soldier Field and other beautification projects on the Museum Campus, told a *Tribune* features writer what he thought: "There was an emotional venom in the coverage that I had never experienced before."

At about the same time, Kamin

Blueprints by big names

For years, critics and Chicago architects lamented the lack of creativity in the city's major construction. But now the city will see a multitude of high-profile projects by big-name architects open within little more than a year of one other.

Three of the designers are Pritzker Prize winners, the architectural equivalent of Nobel laureates. Some have worked in Chicago before. Others are new in town. But their latest projects, if well-executed and well-received, could whet the city's appetite for more bold designs.

From the fluid forms of the new Millennium Park bandshell to the mix of industrial motifs and tongue-in-cheek touches at the Illinois Institute of Technology's new campus center, these new developments showcase a variety of styles.

Parts of Millennium Park, built over abandoned railroads at the northwest corner of Grant Park, have already opened. That project is ambitious. Overseen by the architectural firm of Skidmore, Owings & Merrill, which designed the Sears Tower and the John Hancock Building, 25 acres of new greenspace will include such amenities as an ice-skating rink, a dance studio, fountains with video displays and underground parking.

But the centerpiece will be the much-anticipated bandshell designed by Los Angeles architect Frank Gehry. Already a Pritzker winner, Gehry drew acclaim in 1997 for his work on the Guggenheim Museum in Bilbao, Spain, just as plans for Millennium Park were coming together.

Audiences will sit beneath crisscrossing steel trellises designed to support speakers without obstructing views of the stage. A slithering steel footbridge that can be entered alongside the pavilion will allow pedestrians to cross Lake Shore Drive to the east.

Across Monroe Street to the south, the Art Institute is working on an addition by Renzo Piano, the Italian Pritzker recipient known for his work on the Pompidou Center in Paris and on the mile-long Japanese airport of Discovery Channel fame. Piano's museum addition will combine limestone — to reflect the museum's existing buildings — with steel and transparent glass designed to play off the airy quality of the Millennium Park amphitheater. Groundbreaking is scheduled for next year.

IIT tapped Helmut Jahn, a former student, to design the first new student dorm at the campus in 40 years. It opened this summer. A glass wall shields the noise of the passing elevated trains from students trying to sleep or study.

panned the IIT's McCormick Tribune Campus Center, the first completed North American building by Dutch architect Rem Koolhaas. The center is as playful as Mies was austere. It's designed for students accustomed to a multimedia world, with broad swaths of color, sharp angular spaces and almost kitschy tributes to Mies — such as a 20-foot pixilated portrait of the Modernist master at its front door and blown-up images of Mies-drawn trees on full-story curtains.

There are more traditional nods to Mies as well. The building is supported with the same black I-beams Mies envisioned in his campus plan. Natural light pours into every corner of the building, and most of the structure — which makes up the better part of a block — is transparent.

In Kamin's review, Koolhaas' tributes to the past went unquestioned. But Kamin turned a skeptical eye to almost all of his modern touches. Some passed muster, some didn't. The critic called the building a place where "soaring concepts bump into nasty reality."

Mainly, Kamin lamented the details that were changed from Koolhaas' original plan for cost reasons — elegant wood paneling, for example, gave way to a shiny orange wallpaper. A zebra-striped red-and-black finish on the outside roof particularly irked Kamin because it butted up against the simple black steel beams of Mies' adjacent Commons building.

The *Tribune* critic has been kinder to other contemporary architects, cheering the opening of Jahn-designed dorms across the street from Koolhaas' campus center and trumpeting Frank Gehry's plans for the Millennium Park bandshell.

Not every work by a master architect is bound to be a masterpiece, but not every masterpiece is instantly loved, either. In one of the most memorable passages from Kamin's book, he gives us a glimpse of the transforming power architecture can have on Chicago: "There is no better place to glimpse what can be done than the Ferris Wheel at Navy Pier. As your gondola rises slowly, it is possible, even on a blustery fall day, to

be borne back to a warm August night and feel the rush of exuberance that comes from witnessing the vast, undulating arc of the shoreline. As the gondola nears its apex and the cars on Lake Shore Drive begin to look like toys and the skyscrapers line up like pieces on a chessboard, you understand that this city is not a machine — cool, efficient, rational — but a vessel of human possibility.

"You see not just what is, but what could be. ...What you see is the future of a great American city, and the dazzling prospect — if we seize this fleeting moment — of transforming Chicago and the lives of its people."

But if Chicagoans seize the moment and ride out its promises, they must be willing to endure "skillful, sometimes brilliant and ultimately jarring" buildings that can wake the city from its stupor and incite the passion needed to sustain Chicago's difficult climb back to the top of architectural innovation. □

Daniel C. Vock is Statehouse bureau chief for the Chicago Daily Law Bulletin. He has covered architecture for Illinois Issues.

Streetside, corrugated steel covers the dorm's rounded edges and plays off a motif central to another recent addition to the Bronzeville campus.

Rem Koolhaas, a Dutch architect who won the Pritzker in 2000, beat out Jahn and several other architects with the design for the focal point of IIT's campus revitalization. His building, which opened in September, links the east and west sides of the campus by enclosing the train tracks that divided them. The interior borrows Mies van der Rohe's I-beam supports, open spaces and dominance of daylight. But it adds splashes of color, heavy use of angling and graphic design elements reminiscent of *Trainspotting* movie posters.

The University of Chicago also is adding two notable buildings. In September, the campus opened its first new athletic facility since the school was in the Big Ten Conference. Cesar Pelli, the designer of the Petrona Towers in Malaysia that stripped the Sears Tower of its "world's tallest building" status, devised a wavy building with a roof held up by steel masts more than 100 feet tall.

Rafael Viñoly, a New York architect who drafted the blueprints for the immense Tokyo Convention Center — at 1.5 million square feet, it's not quite as big as McCormick

Place — also earned a commission in Hyde Park. The University of Chicago's Graduate School of Business will relocate to a Viñoly building in September 2004.

He designed a multitiered structure that encloses a "winter garden" courtyard. Bundles of delicate steel tubes shoot up into the sky and meet in four-cornered Gothic-style arches in the interior garden. But instead of bearing the massive weight of a medieval church, these arches spread into a steel-and-glass cage that exposes the heavens.

Then there's the recently completed renovation of Soldier Field, the love-it-or-hate-it combination of Classical symmetry in the old seating bowl with soaring asymmetry of green glass and steel tubes spilling over the brim. Credit — or blame — for the stadium goes to Boston architects Ben Wood and Carlos Zapata, who liken their juxtaposition to I.M. Pei's steel-and-glass pyramid in the courtyard of the Louvre.

For good or ill, Chicagoans will soon see a wide range of styles in architectural projects, which could inspire them to undertake yet another difficult project: re-establishing their city as the premiere place for architecture in America.

Daniel C. Vock



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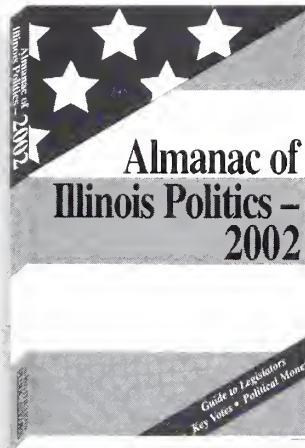
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NO LONGER ACTING Eastern president gets two-year contract

Eastern Illinois University's Board of Trustees opted to take the word "interim" out of President **Louis Hencken's** title and to give him a two-year contract to lead the Charleston campus.

The move was opposed by the university's Faculty Senate for bypassing the standard search procedure. Hencken had been interim president since August 2001 when **Carol Surles** stepped down because of health problems. The original search, which did not produce a successor, was to begin again this fall. Hencken was a candidate in the first search but was not offered the presidency.

The decision to extend Hencken's tenure came after the board heard positive reports about his performance from a search consultant, according to a prepared statement from the university. Hencken has been an administrator at Eastern for 40 years. After serving as housing director for 14, he was named associate vice president for student affairs and later vice president.

Lincoln library and museum lands a leader

On an unusually chilly 37-degree day last month, presidential historian **Richard Norton Smith** joked during a Springfield appearance he knew it would be a cold day when he was named director of the Abraham Lincoln Presidential Library and Museum. His acceptance ended a long process that had created plenty of political heat.

Smith, who will take charge of the library next month, had earlier taken his name out of contention, as had historian **Harold Holzer**, because the job seemed too politicized under former Gov. George Ryan.

For the past two years, Smith has been director of the Robert J. Dole Institute of Politics at the University of Kansas in Lawrence. He has led four presidential libraries: the Gerald R. Ford Museum and Library in Lansing, Mich.; the Ronald Reagan Presidential Library in Simi Valley, Calif.; the Herbert Hoover Presidential Library and Museum in West Branch, Iowa; and the Dwight D. Eisenhower Center in Abilene, Kan.

He is probably best known, however, as a historian and biographer. His book, *Thomas E. Dewey and His Times*, was a finalist for the 1983 Pulitzer Prize. He has written four other biographies and is currently working on one about former Vice President Nelson Rockefeller.

Smith graduated from Harvard University in 1975 with a degree in government. After serving as a White House intern, he became speech writer for Massachusetts Sen. Edward Brooke. In 1979, he went to work for U.S. Sen. Bob Dole of Kansas.

The Lincoln library and museum complex, which is still under construction, will be staffed and operated by the Illinois Historic Preservation Agency. The library is scheduled to open next spring and the museum later in 2004.



Richard Norton Smith



Detail of painting of former Gov. George Ryan, courtesy of the artist Richard Halstead

UNDER WRAPS

The Portrait of George Ryan

Former Gov. **George Ryan's** official oil painting is done and waiting to go up in the second-floor hallway of the State Capitol Building alongside those of other past governors. But no one seems certain how to unveil the portrait or whether Ryan himself will make an appearance.

The ongoing federal corruption investigation that targeted Ryan's inner circle has created awkward questions, including what to do with the \$15,500 state-funded painting that was completed in September by Evanston artist **Richard Halstead**.

"We'll cooperate in any way we can," says Dave Druker, a spokesman for Secretary of State Jesse White, whose office oversees the Capitol and would help coordinate any unveiling. "One option would be to have a reception in the Capitol somewhere. Another option would be to do it quietly if he'd prefer."

As of mid-October, Ryan had not communicated his wishes to White's office. However, he did tell an Associated Press interviewer he wants a ceremony, which likely would be overshadowed by reporters' questions about developments in the continuing Operation Safe Road investigation.

Since the former governor left office in January, federal prosecutors have won convictions against his campaign fund and his former chief of staff.

Dave McKinney

NOBEL PRIZES

Illinois wins big

Illinoisans collected three of the 2003 Nobel Prizes.

Nobels, international honors to individuals whose work betters humanity, were awarded last month to four Illinois scholars in literature, medicine and physics.

A University of Chicago professor won the prize for literature. Two Illinoisans, one from Argonne National Laboratory in Lemont and another from the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, shared the 2003 Nobel Prize in physics with a Russian scientist. UIUC also is the home of **Paul Lauterbur**, who shared the Nobel Prize in medicine with an English scientist, Sir **Peter Mansfield**, for work they did that led to the development of magnetic resonance imaging.

The Nobel committee called Lauterbur's and Mansfield's work a "break-through in medical diagnostics and research."

Magnetic resonance scanning uses radio waves and computer technology to create a picture similar to an X-ray image. MRI technology has reduced the need for exploratory surgery and other invasive medical procedures.

Lauterbur is director of the Biomedical Magnetic Resonance Laboratory in UIUC's College of Medicine. Mansfield was a research associate in the department of physics at Illinois from 1962 to 1964.

Alexei Abrikosov and **Anthony Leggett**, physicists at Argonne and UIUC, respectively, were honored "for pioneering contributions to the theory of superconductors and superfluids." **Vitaly L. Ginzburg** of the P.N. Lebedev Physical Institute, Moscow, like Abrikosov, shared the prize for his work on superconductivity.

Leggett, the John D. and Catherine T. MacArthur Professor and Center for Advanced Study Professor of Physics at the University of Illinois, specialized in superfluidity. "Knowledge about superfluid liquids can give us deeper insight into the ways in which matter behaves in its lowest and most ordered state," the committee said.

And University of Chicago professor and native South African novelist **John Maxwell Coetzee** won the Nobel in literature. Coetzee has taught at the University of Chicago since 1996 and is currently Distinguished Service Professor at the Committee on Social Thought.

"There is a great wealth of variety in Coetzee's works," said The Swedish Academy, which presented the Nobel. "No two books ever follow the same recipe. Extensive reading reveals a recurring pattern, the downward spiralling journeys he considers necessary for the salvation of his characters."

Coetzee became the first two-time winner of the Booker Prize, the most prestigious award in British literature. The second, in 1999, was for his novel *Disgrace*.

bits

Robert Egan

The former state senator and judge was 71. A Chicago Democrat, he was first elected to the Illinois Senate in 1970. He lost a re-election bid, but later served another decade in the post after a successful 1975 campaign. He was appointed judge of the Cook County Circuit Court in 1987.

Bernard Neistein

The former state lawmaker and Chicago ward committeeman was 87. He began a two-year stint in the Illinois House of Representatives in 1957. He served in the Illinois Senate from 1959 to 1972.

Danny Day

The longtime sergeant-at-arms for the Illinois Senate was 51. A Springfield resident, he also served in the secretary of state's office.

H onors and awards

Mike Lawrence and **John David Reed** were inducted last month into the Illinois Associated Press Editors Association's prestigious "Lincoln League of Journalists." The award "honors men and women who have provided exemplary service to other journalists and daily newspapers in Illinois." Both men are former *Chicago Sun-Times* reporters who now teach journalism.

Lawrence also is associate director of the Public Policy Institute at Southern Illinois University in Carbondale. He served as press secretary for Jim Edgar during his tenures as secretary of state and governor. Lawrence, who had a stint as Statehouse bureau chief for the *Sun-Times* prior to joining Edgar's staff, also worked at the *Galesburg Register-Mail* and the *Quad City Times*, where he served for a time as managing editor.

Reed is director of student publications at Eastern Illinois University, where he has been a faculty member since 1972. He also served for many years as the adviser of the student newspaper, which became a daily under his tutelage. He and the student newspaper have received national awards.

Robert Kuhn McGregor, a history faculty member at the University of Illinois at Springfield, is the 2003 winner of the University Scholar award. The award is given to one faculty member each year in the three-campus University of Illinois system and is accompanied by a three-year \$10,000 per year stipend.

The eclectic scholar and writer is a regular contributor to *Illinois Issues*. McGregor has written histories of the revolutionary war and the Great Lakes, a book about Henry David Thoreau's study of nature, a mystery novel and many essays.

McGregor, who also co-wrote a book on mystery author Dorothy Sayers, *Commdrums for the Long Weekend*, says the diversity of his interests was born of necessity. In a small university department he has had to wear a lot of hats.

"It was frustrating until I recognized one day that I was free — intellectually free. I could do anything I wanted, explain any subject that intrigued me. So that's pretty much what I've done."

Q&A Question & Answer

James Joyce

He has served with the Chicago Fire Department since 1965, as commissioner since 1999. This fall, he received the 2003 Motorola Excellence in Public Service Award, which goes to appointed public officials who work for the city of Chicago, Cook County or the state of Illinois. That award, given by the North Business and Industrial Council (NORBIC) of Chicago, is co-sponsored by Illinois Issues. This edited interview was conducted by the magazine's former publisher, Ed Wojcicki, who chairs the award selection committee.

Q. How has "homeland security" affected what you do?

What happened on September 11 [2001] caused not only government officials but the media and citizens to look to see if we're prepared to do the things that might need to be done in the case of another attack.

Q. How did you assess that?

Much of our conversation was centered on high rises. We launched a public education campaign to teach people about safety in high rises.

Q. How do you define high rises?

A high rise, universally, is a building over 80 feet in height, based on the ability of a hook-and-ladder to reach with its main aerial ladder. After 80 feet, you have to shift your focus to fighting a fire from the inside.

Q. Did you find you were less ready than the city ought to be?

A passenger plane, or any kind of plane, crashing into a high rise would be difficult to defend [against]. Our role is to minimize the damage and loss of life, to stabilize a target — if you want to call it a target — and get it back in operation as quickly as possible. To that effect, we're ready. We've redefined our procedures and our protocols and tweaked where we needed to tweak. Overall, we found we're in very good shape that way.



James Joyce

The anthrax scares that followed pointed out some needs in the area of hazardous materials detection and testing.

Q. Is that the role of the fire department?

It's our role to identify the substance, to know what the best methods are to mitigate that substance and prevent further injuries.

I'll add this. While we have pointed to many of the things we want to do in response to weapons of mass destruction, real life is that we still have a day-to-day operation. That's where we have to be prepared. While we have ramped up our equipment and technology and training in a lot of areas, that has served us in our ability to respond to not-so-spectacular weapons of destruction.

Q. What do you mean by that?

There is the mutual aid box alarm system. Almost all the departments in the state have joined in a contractual obligation to send help when asked. When there's an incident in their town, the surrounding towns have an obligation to send a predetermined number of pieces of equipment. One of the

first things I did when I became commissioner was to make sure Chicago joined. Not only join, but participate and host training events. We reached out to suburban and downstate fire departments and assured them we are in this together.

Q. What is the significance of what you have done with the city's emergency medical technicians?

The nature of our business has changed to where we are finding fewer fires and many more emergency medical calls. We've had to increase our training with the fire trucks to make sure they're up to speed medically. Every time we hire a new class of 100 firefighters, 30 are paramedics who are trained at the firefighter level. They ride the trucks and function as a firefighter and a paramedic. Of our 97 engine companies, about 40 have all the equipment and knowledge that an ambulance has.

Q. What is the Rapid Intervention Program?

We spent the last 140 years teaching each other how to save trapped civilians. We've neglected training on how we would save each other. The turning point was the fire in Worcester, Mass., in a big warehouse. Two firefighters got lost and trapped, and when the others heard about that, two more ran in, and they got lost and trapped, and on top of that, two more ran in and got lost and trapped.

Q. And they all died?

They all died. This is one of the changes spreading around the country. We put together a special training that identifies the circumstances surrounding lost and trapped firefighters. We've tried to infuse some discipline into the search, so we don't all go to help and forget what we're there for. On any working fire, a battalion chief and a hook-and-ladder are designated as the RIP team. They are there just to respond to a "May Day" call for trapped firefighters. That's

been implemented [at] every working fire for the past year at least.

I also want to mention thermal energy cameras. They are the latest technology. As we were winding up that training, Jamie Dimon, the CEO of Bank One, stepped up and bought 120 cameras. We've never seen a gesture like that.

Q. How did that come about?

He was moved by our people going to New York two years ago. It was a highly structured team of about 60 who were trained and well-equipped. [Dimon] got wind of that. He offered any support or financing he could come up with to pay for these off-duty members, because they were doing it on their own. So he got involved with a couple of our chiefs and he asked, "What is it you guys could use right now that could take you a while [if you went] through the budgetary process?" The thermal energy cameras were one of the things that our guys brought up.

Q. What do those cameras do?

It's like night vision. They seek out the heat differentials. In a fire situation with smoke, you can't find the fingers on your hand. These cameras can detect a body, whether alive or dead. They can detect the footprints of a warm individual who may have walked or crawled to what they call safety.

Q. That's incredible, with all the heat that's in a burning building.

Yeah, and it finds hidden fires in a residential building. Fire travels up through the voids between the walls. You can have a fire in the basement that you quickly get under control, only to find that it's passed up through a pipe chase. The way you try to find that fire is to open the walls, at considerable cost to the homeowner. These cameras, focused on a plaster wall, will find hot spots.

Q. There's increased appreciation among the public about firefighters. Do you think attitudes of firefighters themselves are different?

Firefighters and paramedics are now feeling pretty good about themselves — not that they weren't before. They

feel pretty good about how open the public is to who we are. We're trying to show them what we do. The goal is to reduce the number of people who are killed or injured by fires. We're trying to capitalize on the goodwill. The firefighters understand they're appreciated. I receive letters every day from somebody who was treated by a paramedic or some off-duty fireman who helped fix a flat tire. We did it somewhat anonymously for the longest time.

Q. You supported a couple of memorials for Chicago firefighters.

There's a memorial park. The Gold Badge Society is made up of widows of paramedics and firefighters killed in the line of duty. That organization has grown recently, and they built a memorial park on the bicycle path on the lakefront, right at the southern edge of McCormick Place. There are trees planted for everybody who was killed. There are bricks with names and dates.

Q. What is the other memorial?

The other cause is unfinished, but I'm not leaving until I get it. There is no city that has a longer, prouder fire history than Chicago, and we're one of the few cities that does not have a fire museum. The first week of October is Fire Prevention Week, and that is observed in every city in the country. The reason it's held in October is that it commemorates the Great Chicago Fire. The things that happened here are observed nationally. There is a new not-for-profit museum group, and I'm part of it. What we're lacking is a physical facility to house all the memorabilia, the educational parts and the antique fire trucks.

Q. Anything you would like to say in conclusion?

While the attention is given to September 11, the reality is that those are skills we need from day to day. We can't put all of our eggs in the mass casualty basket. We still have 3 million people we're watching out for. □

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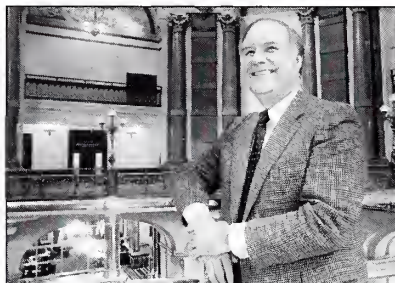
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Charles N. Wheeler III



The governor's draftsmanship is getting poor reviews from lawmakers

by Charles N. Wheeler III

When Illinois voters approved the call for a Constitutional Convention 35 years ago this month, the main selling point was the need to revamp the state's century-old, horse-and-buggy charter to meet space-age needs.

Proponents of constitutional revision touted such benefits as a revenue article flexible enough to allow targeted tax breaks, expanded authority for cities to handle their own affairs and restrictions on state borrowing more attuned to contemporary financial practices.

One might reasonably assume, however, that few of the 2,979,977 citizens who voted for Con-Con were motivated by a desire to transform the governor into a super-legislator. Yet a little-heralded provision that allows governors to rewrite bills after they've cleared the legislature has proven to be among the more contentious innovations of the 1970 Constitution.

Under the amendatory veto power, a governor may return a bill with specific recommendations for change, which lawmakers can accept by majority votes in each chamber or can override with three-fifths majorities. If legislators do neither, the bill is dead.

The latest skirmishes involving the chief executive's amendatory veto power will get under way later this month, when the legislature returns to Springfield for its fall session. The state's still-shaky fiscal condition is

While the governor used his amendatory veto power on 45 bills, his proposed rewrites of two reform measures — one dealing with ethics, the other with capital punishment — have drawn particular scrutiny.

likely to be uppermost in everyone's minds, but Gov. Rod Blagojevich's draftsmanship won't be far behind. While the governor used his amendatory veto power on 45 bills, his proposed rewrites of two reform measures — one dealing with ethics, the other with capital punishment — have drawn particular scrutiny.

Saying he wanted to add teeth to the ethics package, Blagojevich called for stiffer oversight and enforcement provisions, including an inspector general to investigate charges of wrongdoing anywhere in the executive branch, including the offices of the other statewide constitutional officers.

The governor also recommended stripping from a far-reaching series of death penalty reforms a provision that would allow a police standards board to lift the badge of any police officer

who lied on the witness stand in a capital case.

Detractors note correctly that ulterior motives might have figured in the governor's penmanship. Blagojevich announced he would rewrite the ethics measure just two days after a federal judge tossed out an SBC rate hike law the governor signed mere hours after its passage — and some two weeks before the ethics bill even reached his desk. In fact, his amendatory veto was not filed until two and a half months later. Deleting the police perjury provision, meanwhile, helped the governor mend fences with police unions that supported his candidacy but were upset by his earlier approval of legislation mandating that all homicide interrogations be electronically recorded.

Such political considerations aside, the governor's vetoes raised anew questions about the extent to which a chief executive can revise legislation.

The Illinois Supreme Court has held that, while the power is not limited merely to correcting technical errors, a governor can't substitute an entirely new measure, change a bill's "fundamental purpose" or make "substantial or expansive" revisions. Within those parameters, the justices have allowed governors a lot of leeway, in part because the only challenges reaching the court have involved cases in which lawmakers have accepted the amendatory vetoes and thus presumably did

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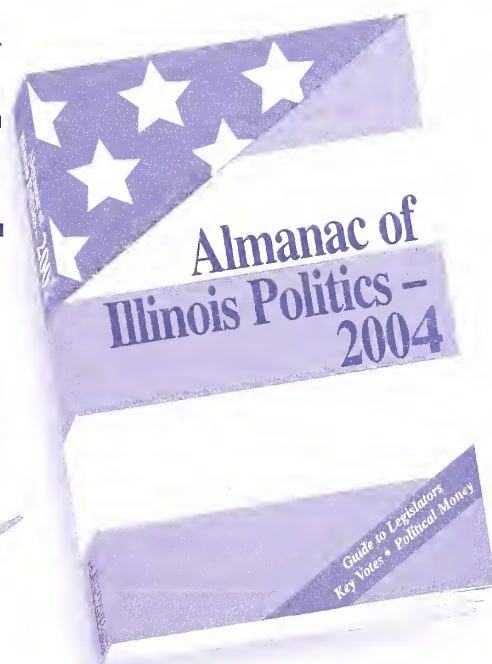
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not think the governor overstepped his authority.

Indeed, both the Senate and the House require their rules committees to determine that an amendatory veto does not alter the underlying bill's "fundamental purpose or legislative scheme" before the sponsor can ask the body to accept the changes. The legislative review largely was House Speaker Michael Madigan's response to former Gov. James Thompson's penchant for lawmaking. In just his final eight years, the four-term governor issued almost twice as many amendatory vetoes (575) as former Govs. Jim Edgar and George Ryan in their collective 12 years in office (298).

Madigan voted for the amendatory veto as a Con-Con delegate, a move he later rued publicly. Despite the speaker's distaste for the practice, over the last two decades, lawmakers have accepted governors' changes more than two-thirds of the time, and overridden only about 6 percent of the amendatory vetoes. In the remainder of the

Much of the criticism of the amendatory veto has focused on its assigning to the governor a substantial role in the legislative process. Of greater concern should be the threat the amendatory veto represents to the ideal of open government.

cases — about a quarter of the total — the underlying bills have died.

Much of the criticism of the amendatory veto has focused on its assigning to the governor a substantial role in the legislative process, thus undermining the traditional separation of powers between the two branches. While the argument has merit, the legislature always can reject proposed

changes deemed to go too far. Of greater concern should be the threat the amendatory veto represents to the ideal of open government. In contrast to the legislative process, in which the public has access to committee hearings and floor debate, any deliberations over amendatory vetoes occur behind closed doors among the governor, his staff and sometimes well-connected lobbyists, with the public and the press in the dark.

In 1974, voters rejected a proposed constitutional amendment that would have limited the governor's rewrite power to technical changes only. Three decades of super-legislating governors later, voters now should be asked to rectify Con-Con's biggest mistake by excising the amendatory veto altogether. □

Charles N. Wheeler III is director of the Public Affairs Reporting Program at the University of Illinois at Springfield.

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